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*The Decline of the Medieval
Cistercian Laybrotherhood*

by

JAMES S. DONNELLY, PH.D.

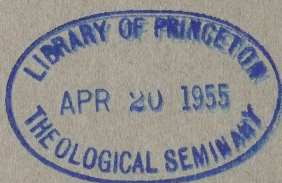


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CISTERCIAN LAYBROTHERHOOD

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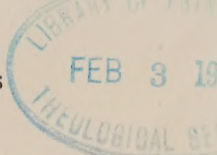
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JAMES S. DONNELLY, PH.D.



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PREFACE

THIS STUDY deals with the medieval Cistercian Order, which was, in many respects, the most influential monastic group of the twelfth century; but it deals particularly with the lay brothers, or *conversi*, who were engaged in the tremendous task of caring for the temporalities of this rapidly expanding Order. The role of the laybrotherhood appears doubly important when we realize that the Cistercians, unlike the Benedictines, at first took care of their landed possessions without having recourse to the ordinary, widespread manorial system, which involved peasants, services, and dues.

Among the Cistercians, the laybrotherhood was most thoroughly established and developed, and the institution, in turn, was greatly responsible for the prosperity of the Order. Yet, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Cistercian laybrotherhood declined and became economically insignificant. The decision of the Order to place less dependence upon the brothers and to reduce their number resulted from the scarcity of suitable applicants, but particularly from the difficulty of maintaining discipline and from the change in economic policies and practices adopted by the Order.

In the pages that follow, the pettiness and violence of the *conversi* will certainly stand out. But, because anyone who has studied the laybrotherhood leaves the subject with a deep respect for many of the brothers, a further word of explanation is fitting. In the end, the *fratres conversi*, as they were properly called, appear to have remained intractable as a group, many of them even incapable of submitting to monastic discipline. But in the declining period of the Order, when the original fervor was being spent without replenishment, the lay brothers often found themselves reminded too rudely and perhaps erroneously that they were merely the workers like Martha and not the contemplatives like Mary. Furthermore, abbots and monks must have contributed at times to a divisive feeling within the community by gaining relaxations in the pristine observances for themselves. Though they bore the heavy responsibility of giving good example, they often faltered here; even while they enjoyed more of the fruits of prosperity, they were loth to share their windfall with the lay brothers. Nor should one overlook the disturbances caused by monks alone or those revolts raised by monks and lay brothers acting in concert. This is merely another way of saying that the *conversi* were often amazingly humble and holy in trying situations even as they were often shockingly unruly in situations that were less trying.

Much of the material in this study was originally presented in a

doctoral dissertation which was completed under the guidance of Professors Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan and the late Demetrius B. Zema, S.J., and submitted to the Department of History of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Fordham University, in June, 1942. It was under Professor O'Sullivan that I began my graduate studies; for his cheerful, wise, and penetrating tutelage, particularly in the study of monasticism, and for his criticism of the manuscript copy of this study as well, I am thankful. When he entered the Army of the United States in the spring of 1942, Father Zema, whose knowledge of medieval ecclesiastical institutions was wide and deep, then served as a most patient and thoughtful mentor; to him also, for generous advice, I am heavily indebted.

I wish also to express my gratitude for the aid of my friends, Professor Paul Levack, Fordham University, and Mr. John C. Schlereth, St. Peter's College, Jersey City. For the care that only an editor gives so generously, I thank Professor Edwin A. Quain, S.J. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge the innumerable kindnesses of Mr. William J. Roehrenbeck, Librarian of Fordham University, and of Miss Agnes A. Sette, Librarian, City Hall Division, Fordham University, and the helpfulness of the staffs of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and of the libraries of Columbia University, Fordham University, Harvard College, New York University, and the Union Theological Seminary.

To my wife, Evelyn, I am grateful for her unflagging zeal and her many trials not only in preparing typescripts but also in improving my many drafts and addenda. Lastly, it would be shameful not to acknowledge that two other persons helped immensely on many occasions by pulling papers and notes from my hands when I had already reached a point of futility without their help.

JAMES S. DONNELLY

July 16, 1948

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THE DECLINE OF THE MEDIEVAL
CISTERCIAN LAYBROTHERHOOD

ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS Boll: Acta sanctorum Bollandiana.

AA SS OSB: Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti.

C: Joseph-Marie Canivez (ed.), Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786. Reference is made to volume, page, year, and statute as follows: C, 1: 346 (1208), 5.

EHR: English Historical Review.

Gallia: Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa [nova].

Jaffé-Löwenfeld: Philip Jaffé, Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII (2nd ed. by S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald).

Mansi: J. D. Mansi (ed.), Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae historica.

LL: Leges.

SS: Scriptores.

PL: J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina (Patrologia Latina).

Potthast: August Potthast, Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAYBROTHERHOOD

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN to explain the medieval monastic community and its economic resources. But a fuller understanding of both requires a better knowledge of the role of lay brothers, or *conversi*, for the laybrotherhood influenced considerably the disciplinary and economic conditions of innumerable abbeys, congregations, and orders. Toward the writing of a history of this group several valuable contributions have been made, especially since the late nineteenth century.¹ Still, two problems, among others, remain to be treated. One is to provide a satisfactory explanation of the origins of the laybrotherhood.² The other, to which this study is devoted, is to explain the

¹ Deserving of mention among the earlier contributions are those by Mabillon in *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti in saeculorum classes distributa*, edd. L. d'Achery, J. Mabillon, and T. Ruinart (9 vols., Venice, 1668-1701), saec. VI², t. 9, pp. xl-xli; by Martène in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, edd. E. Martène and U. Durand (9 vols., Paris, 1724-1733), t. 6, pp. xxxv-xlii; by Mittarelli in *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti quibus plura interseruntur tum ceteras Italico-monasticas res, tum historiam ecclesiasticam remque diplomaticam illustrantia*, edd. J. B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni (9 vols., Venice, 1755-1773), t. 1, Appendix, cols. 336-455. Of course, many of the remarks of these scholars are to be taken with caution. Among modern writers who treat of the origins of lay brothers, in part or at length, are the following: Ursmer Berlière, "Les Oblats de Saint-Benoît au moyen âge," *Le Messager des fidèles*, 3 (1886-1887), 55-61, 107-111, 156-160, 219-220, 249-255 (to be used with caution, as Dom Berlière later advised); Raymond Chasles, "Etude sur l'institut monastique des frères convers et sur l'oblature au moyen âge, leur origine et leur rôle (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)," *Ecole nationale des chartes, Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1906 pour obtenir la diplôme d'archiviste paléographe*, pp. 43-49; Eberhard Hoffmann, *Das Konverseninstitut des Cisterzienser-ordens in seinem Ursprung und seiner Organization* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1905), pp. 8-24; M.-P. Deroux, *Les Origines de l'oblature bénédictine (étude historique)* (Vienne, 1927); U. Berlière, "La Familia dans les monastères bénédictins du moyen âge," *Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, t. 39, fasc. 2 (1931); Adolf Mettler, "Laienmönche Laienbrüder Conversen, besonders bei den Hirsauern," *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, 41 (1935), 201-253; Philip F. Mulhern, *The Early Dominican Laybrother* (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 1-16. See also the brief sketch in Dom Paul Delatte, *The Rule of St. Benedict, A Commentary*, trans. Dom Justin McCann (London, 1921), pp. 364-366.

² In connection with this problem, it can only be pointed out that, in addition to the works cited above, the studies of a score of historians must be analyzed and

decline of the institution among the Cistercians, who made the greatest use of lay brothers.

Eberhard Hoffmann, Cistercian of the Common Observance, wrote the first thorough study on the Cistercian *conversi*.³ It is primarily an analysis of their origin and a description of their organization during the twelfth century. Later, in enlarging parts of this study, Hoffmann examined the gradual breakdown of Cistercian economic policies during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,⁴ and finally analyzed the effect that the dispute concerning payment of tithes had on this signal change.⁵ Another Cistercian, Othon Ducourneau, of the Strict Observance, provided much interesting information on the regulations governing the varied routine of the lay brothers.⁶

After 1933, one of the principal sources for Cistercian history, the selected statutes in the collection by Martène and Durand,⁷ was supplanted gradually by the complete edition of statutes edited by Joseph-Marie Canivez, Cistercian of the Strict Observance.⁸ Through the use of the new edition of *Statuta* and with the aid of relatively recent economic and monastic studies, the role of the Cistercian *conversi* can be evaluated more fully. Furthermore, there has been no study of the Cistercian lay brothers from the disciplinary aspect or of the economic conditions that led to the gradual deterioration of their status. Yet, the disciplinary and economic factors constitute two fundamental and converging causes which explain the dwindling in the number of *conversi* during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Therefore, some additional light can be thrown on this process of decline,

that certain monastic institutions in the West and East before the twelfth century must be studied more thoroughly than they have been in order to settle disputed issues or at least to bring them into proper focus.

³ *Konverseninstitut* (cited above, note 1). Earlier articles on the Cistercian lay brothers are those by Ludwig Dolberg, "Die Cistercienser-Mönche und Conversen als Landwirte und Arbeiter," *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ordensgeschichte und Statistik*, 13 (1892), 216-228, 360-367, 503-512, and A. Mettler, "Zur Klosteranlage der Zisterzienser und zur Baugeschichte Maulbronn's," *Württ. Vjh. f. Landesgesch.*, n.s. 18 (1909), 94-95 (statistics on *conversi*), 93-113 (thorough comparative discussion of lay-brother quarters).

⁴ "Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaftsprinzipien im Cisterzienser-orden während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 699-727.

⁵ "Die Stellungnahme der Cisterzienser zum kirchlichen Zehntrecht im 12. Jahrhundert," *Studien und Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seine Zweige*, 33 (n.s. 2, 1912), 421-449.

⁶ R. P. [J.] Othon [Ducourneau], "De l'institution et des us des convers dans l'ordre de Cîteaux (XII^e et XIII^e siècles)," *Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes, Congrès de 1927, Saint Bernard et son temps, Recueil de mémoires et communications présentés au congrès* (2 vols., Dijon, 1928-1929), Vol. 2, pp. 139-201.

⁷ *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (5 vols., Paris, 1717), t. 4, cols. 1243-1646.

⁸ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* (8 vols., Louvain, 1933-1941).

to which Dom Ursmer Berlière drew attention long ago in his review of Father Hoffmann's book.⁹

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Even a cursory reading of the Rule of St. Benedict makes it sufficiently clear that the vast majority of his monks were not clerics, but laymen who had vowed themselves to the religious life. They were recruited mostly from the middle class; but cloisters of renown also counted men of noble station in their ranks, while isolated abbeys, remote from the towns, drew many of their members from among the poorer classes.¹⁰

Regardless of previous status, Benedictine monks devoted most of their day to intellectual and religious duties, for the monastery, in St. Benedict's conception, was a school of divine service, and nothing was to take precedence over the *Opus Dei*, the Work of God, which was and is public prayer, or the Divine Office.¹¹ Benedict also prescribed that much time be spent in spiritual reading, or *lectio divina*.¹² Nonetheless, monks were expected to perform a certain amount of manual work in the fields. Provision was even made in the Rule so that monks who were artisans and handicraftsmen could practice their trades at the discretion of the abbot.¹³ Furthermore, St. Benedict urged monks to appreciate the value of labor for their spiritual advancement:

⁹ *Revue bénédictine*, 23 (1906), 291: "Ils [the *conversi*] portèrent l'ordre de Cîteaux à l'apogée de sa prospérité matérielle; comment la décadence se produisait-elle, et irrémédiablement au XIV^e siècle et même plus tôt? La question vaut la peine d'être examinée de près. Les circonstances s'étaient modifiées; on se retrouvait en face de conditions sociales tout autres qu'aux débuts de l'ordre, en face de faits accomplis mais non prévus par les réformateurs, et la question des principes et de ses applications se posait de nouveau pour Cîteaux comme pour Cluny."

¹⁰ John Chapman, *Saint Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), pp. 183-184. Ch. 9 is a good analysis of monastic economy in the period, but exception has been taken to some of the conclusions. See also Terence P. McLaughlin, *Le Très Ancien Droit monastique de l'occident, Etude sur le développement général du monachisme et ses rapports avec l'église séculière et le monde laïque de saint Benoît de Nursie à saint Benoît d'Aniane* (Ligugé, 1935), pp. 72-73; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England, A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council* (Cambridge, England, 1940), pp. 6-7; U. Berlière, *L'Ascèse bénédictine des origines à la fin du XII^e siècle, Essai historique* (Maredsous, 1927), p. 250.

¹¹ Berlière, *L'Ascèse bénédictine*, pp. 6-7; McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Delatte, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Cuthbert Butler (ed.), *Sancti Benedicti regula monachorum*, editio critico-practica (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1912), p. 77, c. 43: "Ergo nihil Operi Dei praeponatur."

¹² Butler, *Regula*, pp. 83-86, c. 48.

¹³ Delatte, *op. cit.*, p. 361; Butler, *Regula*, p. 98-99, c. 57: "Artifices si sunt in monasterio, cum omni humilitate faciant ipsas artes, si permiserit abbas" (p. 98). The other pertinent passages of the Rule on the *opus manuum* are chs. 35, 42, 46, 50, 53, 58, and 66.

If, however, the needs of the place or poverty require them to labour themselves in gathering in the harvest, let them not grieve at that; for then are they truly monks when they live by the labour of their hands, as our Fathers and the Apostles did. But let all things be done in moderation for the sake of the faint-hearted.¹⁴

As a matter of prevailing fact, however, most of the hand labor on monastic estates was provided by *coloni* or peasant farmers and even by lower classes of agricultural workers, unless the monastery were very poor.

Although there is disagreement on the matter, it seems that there were no lay servants within the early Benedictine monastery. The weekly servers in the kitchen and the attendants performing menial tasks, who are merely mentioned in Chapters 35 and 38 of the Rule, were probably monks. Neither is there any substantial evidence to indicate the existence, before the eleventh century, of lay brothers¹⁵—that is, lay as distinct from clerical religious, but religious in the full sense of the word, bound by the vow of obedience, living under a monastic regime, and employed in the performance of manual labor and in the general care of the secular affairs of the monastery. Studies on the early Benedictine period, as well as on later developments within the conventual body and within the monastic *familia*¹⁶ (or group of secular persons hired for the service of the monastery), make it difficult to accept any other conclusion. The various uses of the word *conversus* in the sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the many dif-

¹⁴ McCann's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 312); Butler, *Regula*, p. 84, c. 48: "Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas exegerit, ut ad fruges recolligendas per se occupentur, non contristentur; quia tunc vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivunt, sicut et patres nostri et Apostoli. Omnia tamen mensurate fiant propter pusillanimitates." See Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism, Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule* (2nd ed., London, 1924), pp. 285-286.

¹⁵ Butler, *Regula*, pp. 67-68 (c. 35), 70-72 (c. 38). Both Delatte (*op. cit.*, p. 365) and Deroux (*op. cit.*, p. 62) believed that the weekly servers and the attendants were monks. Martène (*Vet. script. ampl. coll.*, t. 4, pp. xxxvii-xxxix) considered these servers and others to have been lay brothers, and in fact believed that there were lay brothers in monasteries not only at the time of St. Benedict and during the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries but even earlier at Lérins. Martène based his belief that there were lay brothers in St. Benedict's time on ch. 57 of the Rule, which merely prescribes how artisans who are monks should conduct themselves. He had no clear conception of the different groups designated by the word *conversus*. Two fairly recent studies refer to the existence of lay brothers in the early Benedictine period. Léon Levillain cites evidence of their existence in the early part of the seventh century at the abbey of Saint-Denis; "Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne, II, Les Origines de Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 86 (1925). 62-74; esp. p. 67. His conclusion has been accepted by Sumner McK. Crosby, *The Abbey of St.-Denis, 475-1122*, Vol. I (New Haven, 1942), pp. 54-56. On the other hand, both Chasles (*op. cit.*, p. 45) and Chapman (*op. cit.*, p. 170) express the opinion that lay servants worked inside the first Benedictine monasteries.

¹⁶ On the *familia*, see Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

ferences among monastic customs have often confused and sometimes misled scholars. But one cannot expect to find in the seeds of an institution the detail of what becomes fully grown through intricate processes of development.

Until the eleventh century (and even afterwards to a limited degree), the word *conversus* suggested that a person was "converted" to the monastic life in late years and that he had not been "offered" (*oblatus*, and therefore "nourished," or *nutritus*) to the abbey as a boy or youth.¹⁷ In the relations between these two classes of monks, "converts" and oblates, during the eleventh century, there may have been a certain amount of friction. In one reported instance, the oblates considered themselves unsoiled by the world since they had been "nourished" in the abbey, while, on their part, the "converts," who had a knowledge of the world and of temporal affairs, esteemed themselves an economic asset to the monastery and therefore superior to the oblates.¹⁸ The "converts," who had little or no education, were often assigned to perform manual tasks connected with satisfying material needs of the monastery. Such provision, for example, was made in the *Consuetudines*, or *Statuta*, which Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070-1089) compiled for the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and other English monasteries in accordance with his knowledge of the best Norman and other continental customs.¹⁹ These English "converts" were also known as lay monks, or *monachi laici*. But they were not lay brothers; rather, they were full-fledged choir monks.²⁰

This development of two groups within the conventual body existed in the Congregation of Cluny during the eleventh century and probably at Cluny itself during the tenth century.²¹ The Cluniac *conversi* were also referred to as *barbati* ("bearded"), and as *monachi illitterati* and *idiotae* in contrast to the *monachi litterati*, or educated *oblato* (or *nutriti*). In the eleventh century, the *illitterati* were assigned a special place in the choir and in processions. Finally, when Abbot Peter the Venerable inaugurated a general reform at Cluny in 1146, he allotted to them various duties which had been assigned formerly

¹⁷ Delatte, *op. cit.*, pp. 366, 406-412; Deroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-49; Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., cols. 337-340; Mabillon, *AA SS OSB*, saec. VI², t. 9, p. xl.

¹⁸ *Eadmeri monachi liber de Sancti Anselmi similitudinibus*, c. 78, in *PL*, 159:649-650.

¹⁹ *Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti*, in *PL*, 150: 446, 450, 455, 456, 459, 463, 465, 467, 474, 477, 479-480. See Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, p. 67; Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

²⁰ Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

²¹ Guy de Valous, *Le Monachisme clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle, Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'ordre* (2 vols., Ligugé, 1935), Vol. 1, pp. 47-48.

to lay servants.²² This important change brought the status of the Cluniac *conversus* as close as it ever came to that of the lay brother.²³ Yet, the similarity is to be seen more in work performed or tasks assigned than in constitutional or canonical status, for, as Guy de Valous pointed out, the Cluniac *conversus* in the twelfth century was *illiteratus* only temporarily—until he was sufficiently instructed and admitted to the rank of *litteratus*. Thus, the name applied to the *conversus* marked but a transitory stage in the lives of many Cluniac monks and not a distinct and rigidly restricted group in the monastic body.²⁴ One must look elsewhere than to Cluny for an understanding of the complete development of the laybrotherhood.

During the period from the seventh to the eleventh century, monasteries became more dependent upon lay servants and workers, to a great extent because the monks were compelled to devote much more time to the Divine Office, *lectio divina*, Masses and prayers for pious benefactors, other intellectual pursuits, and even the care of souls. The feudalization of the Church and the increase in the landed possessions of many abbeys also contributed toward the widespread use of lay workers.²⁵ Since the monastic community itself became more clerical, manual labor had to be assigned to those less fitted for intellectual work. As a result, by the eleventh century, the community was divided into two bodies of religious, clerical and lay, each with a separate function, each complementing the other in its work. The transformation was achieved by fixing higher standards for prospective monks and by offering those less suited the opportunity to become full religious members of the community in the ranks of workers who were not expected to become clerics and who were finally even barred

²² *Petri venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis noni statuta congregationis Cluniacensis*, in *PL*, 189: 1025–1048, esp. nos. 23–25 (cols. 1032–1033) and no. 39 (cols. 1036–1037).

²³ De Valous, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 307–308. Available information concerning the Cluniac *conversus* at least makes clear the difficulties involved in tracing the development of the laybrotherhood. An understanding of the Cluniac *familia* is somewhat difficult because of the various classes of dependents, called adult oblates, or *oblato* (and variously *dati*, *donati*, *condonati*, *familiares*, *commissi*, *offerti*, and *monachi laici*). De Valous (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 46–47) distinguishes four principal classes of these: (1) laymen who gave their goods to the abbey, took a vow of obedience, and devoted themselves to the service of the monks; (2) those who remained on the land with their families almost as serfs; (3) those who surrendered their property and in return received food and protection; and (4) those who gave up their property and received it back as a benefice.

²⁵ For a general description, see Deroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–76. After Benedict of Aniane promulgated a series of regulations for the monasteries of the Carolingian Empire at the Council of Aachen in 817, Benedictine monasticism was greatly revived and standardized. In the legislation issued by Benedict to establish and supplement the Rule in all the monasteries of the Empire, additions were especially made in the Divine Office. See Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Sr. M. Alfred Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism as Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (New York, 1941), pp. 152–172.

from such advancement. Thus, the laybrotherhood evolved as the result of the establishment of a permanent religious status for lay workers.

In the Carolingian Empire, manual labor on the monastic estates was performed by laymen specially bound to the abbey and by other hired workmen.²⁶ Serfs labored in the garden and in the kitchen for lay guests,²⁷ but it is improbable that lay servants were employed in the cloister proper for the performance of domestic services.²⁸

After the disintegration of the Empire toward the end of the ninth century, the Church was broken into isolated organisms utterly dependent upon the local nobility. Such decentralization soon produced signs of degradation in the ecclesiastical order even as it did in the political order. Under these circumstances, the tenth century was an age of shocking decline in monasticism, and the seamy side of the over-all picture was not improved immediately by the foundation of the monastery of Cluny in 910, by the monastic revivals in Upper and Lower Lorraine shortly afterwards under John of Gorze and Gerard of Brogne, and by the beginning of the monastic revival in England under St. Dunstan after about 943.²⁹

The dawn of a new era in monasticism came upon Europe only

²⁶ Schroll, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

²⁸ De Valous (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 45) holds that lay servants (*famuli*) worked in the interior of the monasteries, but Sr. M. Alfred Schroll (*op. cit.*, pp. 135-138) disagrees with him. De Valous' opinion is based on evidence from the capitulary of Aachen (817) and from the statutes of the monastery of Corbie (ca. 822). The disputed passage in the former reads: "Ut servitores non ad unam mensam sed in propriis locis post refectorem fratrum reficiant; quibus eadem lectio quae fratribus recitata est legatur" [*Capitulare monasticum*, no. 28, in MGH LL, II, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, t. 1 (ed. A. Boretius), p. 345]. The *servitores* were probably monks and not *famuli*. De Valous' argument to the contrary is also drawn from the statutes of Corbie, which describe the services of the *matricularii*, or the special class of servants at the abbey, and also the work performed by the other members of the *familia*. Among the latter were the *famuli*, or servants, the *oblato* (both adult oblates and serfs who lived with their families on the land of the abbey), the *providarii*, and the *donati*. Although the names of the *matricularii* were inscribed in the monastic register and these servants rendered such service as guarding the doors of the church or ringing the bells and lived in a common place or dormitory, there does not seem to be any proof that this group was subject to monastic discipline. See *Statuta antiqua abbatae S. Petri Corbeiensis quae monachis suis praescripsit sanctus Adalhardus abbas*, esp. lib. I, c. 1 and lib. II, c. 5, in PL, 105:535-550; De Valous, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 45-46; Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9, 12-13. Berlière indicates that servants were to have separate habitations according to the capitulary of Aachen and that access to the cloister was forbidden them at St. Gall. The ground plan of St. Gall, dating from the early ninth century, shows that the servants' houses were located to the north and west of the basilica, separated from the conventual buildings proper, and that the domestic buildings were located to the south of the church bounding the cloister court. See J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art* (Cambridge, England, 1926), pp. 71-90; esp. p. 73 for the plan.

²⁹ Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30, 31-56 (on the English revival).

during the early years of the eleventh century. It burst forth in all its splendor as western Europe became more stabilized and as the Church fought for and won its freedom during the second half of that century and during the hundred years that followed. Monasticism, by then, was strongly clerical, and as new monasteries, congregations, and orders were founded throughout Europe, the need became urgent to define and regulate the status of those who did the work of Martha on monastic estates and in the monastery. The steps taken during the early eleventh century in Italy, at the monasteries of Fonte Avellana, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa, and during the late eleventh century in southern Germany, at Hirschau and the members of its growing congregation, set the pattern for the final development of the laybrotherhood.

The Congregation of Fonte Avellana was an outgrowth of the monastery of Santa Croce at Fonte Avellana near Faenza, which was founded by St. Romuald about 1000. St. Peter Damian, who was practically a second founder, entered the abbey in 1035 and became prior in 1043.³⁰ In describing the servants (*famuli*) attached to his monastery, this great reformer and ascetic said they were called *fratres* and took vows of obedience and stability.³¹ Therefore, there were lay brothers in the community of Fonte Avellana at a very early time in its history, but precisely how early it is impossible to say.³²

St. Romuald founded the monastery of Campo Maldoli (Camaldoli) in 1012 near Arezzo in the Tuscan Apennines.³³ According to the constitutions compiled by the fourth prior, Rudolph, in 1085, St. Romuald, in founding Camaldoli, provided for the greater peace of the monks by erecting the hospice Fontebuona, some distance away down at the foot of the mountain, for the reception of guests, and placed a monk and three *conversi* in charge of it. Although it is not entirely patent from the source that these *conversi* were lay brothers, it is probable that St. Romuald did establish lay brothers at Camaldoli and that his influence set an example for others.³⁴ Evidence concern-

³⁰ Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (3rd ed., 2 vols., Paderborn, 1933-1934), Vol. 1, p. 199; J. P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays* (Cambridge, England, 1932), pp. 100-101. That St. Romuald founded Santa Croce is proved by Walter Franke, *Romuald von Camaldoli und seine Reformtätigkeit zur Zeit Ottos III* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 249-253.

³¹ *Opusculum XV de suae congregationis institutis*, c. 7, in *PL*, 145:342. See Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., cols. 354-355; Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, p. 69; Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, pp. 17-18.

³² Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, p. 18: "Es werden also bei den Mönchen von Fontavellana ebenso früh Laienbrüder eingeführt worden sein wie bei denen von Vallombrosa; wenn wir dort die Bezeichnung 'Conversi' nicht finden, so rührt das vielleicht daher, dass der Berichterstatter, Petrus Damiani, den Namen Conversus nur für die früher bezeichnete Mönchsklasse zu gebrauchen gewohnt war."

³³ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 315.

³⁴ B. Rodulfi prioris IV Camaldulensis constitutiones, in Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 3, App., col. 543: "His itaque peractis quemdam inferiorem

ing the Vallombrosan lay brothers, as well as other information, supports this conclusion.

St. John Gualbert founded the monastery of Vallombrosa in the valley of that name in Tuscany in 1038.³⁵ In the oldest *Vita* of the founder, written by Abbot Andrew of Strumi at the end of the eleventh century, it is related that *fideles laici* were received as religious by Gualbert and were put in charge of the temporal affairs of the monastery.³⁶ Under such circumstances, it is probable that, for the first time, lay brothers were called *conversi* in what became the restricted Cistercian sense of the word, especially as the Vallombrosans did not distinguish, as others did, between *oblati* and *conversi* in the traditional way.³⁷

But Gualbert did not institute the laybrotherhood. Since he had spent some time with Romuald at Camaldoli, he probably there learned how servants could be introduced into the monastic community, and then adopted the same system at Vallombrosa when he founded that monastery some years afterwards.³⁸ It is generally agreed that St. Romuald introduced the system of lay brothers at Camaldoli, that St. Peter Damian reorganized Fonte Avellana in accordance with the experiences of Romuald, and that St. John Gualbert also adopted the Camaldolese innovation.³⁹

locum, qui dicitur Fons-bonus, reperit, ibique unam domum construxit, unum monachum cum tribus conversis ibi ordinavit pro adventantium hospitum receptione . . ." Hoffmann (*Konverseninstitut*, p. 19) argues that these *conversi* were undoubtedly lay servants, for they were referred to as *conversi* but once and otherwise as *laici* and *ministri*. Berlière ("La Familia," *op. cit.*, p. 69) adopted the same view, pointing out that they were not bound to take a vow of poverty, nor, if married, a vow of continence, and that they were known under such different names as *oblati*, *commissi*, *donati*, and *devoti*. It should be indicated, however, that Berlière based his conclusions on the work of Mittarelli, who lumped into one class every group that went under the name *conversi* without always distinguishing clearly the various elements comprising the community or attached to the monastery. See Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., cols. 360-452. On the other hand, Chasles (*op. cit.*, p. 48), Franke (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-180), Deroux (*op. cit.*, p. 112), and Mulhern (*op. cit.*, p. 9) agree that Romuald established the laybrotherhood.

³⁵ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 320-321.

³⁶ *Vita Sancti Johannis Gualberti*, auctore B. Andrea abbate Strumensi, in *AA SS Boll*, 30 (Jul. III): 332-333: ". . . Deus . . . misit ei fideles laicos diversi ordinis, tam puram conversionem ostendentes in omnibus modis exhortatione pii Patris, ut pene nihil different a monachis. Quibus nec proprium habere, nec carnem comedere, nec ad mensam loqui, nec a parentibus, vel amicis quidquam sumere licebat. Et nihil omnino a monachis distabant, praeter quod permittebantur uti lineis vestibus in nimio fervore aestatis, et praeter silentium, quod in exterioribus occupati observare requibant. . . . Tales igitur probatos Conversos Pater ad mercatum, et ad omnia exteriora procuranda, mente mittebat secura."

³⁷ Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, pp. 16-17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19; Chasles, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., col. 356; Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, p. 69. Mittarelli suggested that Fonte Avellana might have learned the system from the Camaldolese (which seems correct).

³⁹ Hoffmann (*Konverseninstitut*, p. 19) ventured the opinion that a closer study of the relations among Fonte Avellana, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa, through the

It is possible that further research into the histories of certain monasteries in southern Germany will throw light on an indigenous German development of the laybrotherhood during the late tenth century or the early eleventh century.⁴⁰ Thus far, however, only in connection with the Hirschau reform movement is there sufficient—in fact, abundant—evidence concerning the laybrotherhood in Germany. In this instance it is unmistakable that the introduction of lay servants into the community as religious became a fully developed system.⁴¹

careers of their founders, might clarify the development. Franke (*op. cit.*, pp. 175–180) made such an analysis shortly afterwards and reached the conclusion I have stated. Franke also observed that St. Romuald borrowed the system from Greek monasticism: “Laienbruder . . . finden sich bereits bei Romuald, der diese Einrichtung aus dem griechischen Mönchtum übernahm” (p. 176). Cf. the similar suggestion of G. Grützmacher, “Mönchtum,” *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, edd. J. J. Herzog and Albert Hauck, Vol. 13 (1903), pp. 225–226. He pointed to the division of the Studite community into two groups, those who took care of the domestic economy and those who lived in complete renunciation of the world. “Wahrscheinlich hat das Abendland vom Orient die Unterscheidung zwischen den eigentlichen Mönchen und den *fratres conversi* entlehnt” (p. 226). Albert Hauck points to this comment; *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (5 vols., reprint of 3rd and 4th editions, Leipzig, 1920), Vol. 3, p. 875, n. 3. But I do not know of any study on this matter.

⁴⁰ Odilo Ringholz maintained that there were lay brothers at the abbey of Einsiedeln toward the end of the tenth century, that the customs of Einsiedeln were adopted by the abbey of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon, and that lay brothers were therefore known to Abbot William of Hirschau, who came from St. Emmeram. He did not deny, however, that William was the first to introduce the laybrotherhood at Hirschau and to perfect the institution. See his *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes U. L. F. von Einsiedeln, seiner Wallfahrt, Propsteien, Pfarreien und übrigen Besitzungen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturgeschichte* (Vol. 1, Einsiedeln, Waldshut, and Cologne, 1902), pp. 51, 674, 670–671. This explanation, if correct, makes all the less acceptable one based on the influence of Cluniac customs, which were introduced at Hirschau. Ernst Sackur gave some support to Dom Ringholz, at least by accepting the argument that there were lay brothers at Einsiedeln; *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Halle, 1892–1894), Vol. 2, p. 250, n. 1. Hauck, however, referring to Ringholz’s earlier edition (1886) of the customs of St. Emmeram and Einsiedeln, denied the accuracy of his dating and ascribed them to the period of the Hirschau reform; *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 379–380, n. 3. In his review of Hoffmann’s *Konverseninstitut* [*Revue bénédictine*, 23 (1906), 290], Berlière insisted that the words cited by Ringholz (*barbati* and *conversi laici*) are not the equivalents of “lay brothers,” but are to be understood as having the sense of similar words used by Lanfranc (see above, p. 5). Knowles (*Monastic Order*, pp. 719–720, Appendix XXIII), in pointing to the obscurity of lay brothers in English Benedictine abbeys, acknowledged the letter of a Swiss friend concerning the similar obscurity surrounding the status of the *barbati* of Einsiedeln and other Swiss and German monasteries ca. 1050–1150 and stated: “Clearly the matter needs further investigation” (p. 720).

⁴¹ On the Hirschau lay brothers, see Adolf Mettler, “Laienmönche Laienbrüder Conversen, besonders bei den Hirsauern,” *Württ. Vjh. f. Landesgesch.*, 41 (1935), 231–53; Deroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–110; Chasles, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–48; Ernst Hauviller, *Ulrich von Cluny, ein biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Cluniacenser im*

Abbot William, who came to Hirschau from St. Emmeram at Ratisbon in 1069, not only achieved the economic and religious restoration of Hirschau, but also founded twenty-three abbeys and acquired sixty-nine newly reformed monasteries for the Congregation of Hirschau. The *Consuetudines Hirsauigienses* were drawn up in imitation of the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, which were written for Abbot William by the monk Ulrich of Cluny. Before drawing up his own customs, William sent four of his monks to live at Cluny in order to familiarize themselves with the Cluniac system.⁴² It is noteworthy that Ulrich, in a letter accompanying his redaction, praised William for having introduced *famuli* who served the monks voluntarily and without remuneration, and also urged him to make a further innovation by having them live in the cloister and wear the religious habit.⁴³ Abbot William apparently took Ulrich's advice, for he gave lay servants a precise religious status, which they did not then enjoy at Cluny.⁴⁴ Because of the rapid spread of the Hirschau Congregation, the laybrotherhood was widely popularized in monastic circles. The chronicler Bernold of Constance, under the year 1091, spoke of lay brothers flourishing in Germany at that time.⁴⁵ They were used effectively in spreading the Gregorian reform movement.⁴⁶

Since the value of the laybrotherhood was fast becoming common

11. *Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1896), pp. 75–76; Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.

⁴² Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 191–193.

⁴³ *Epistola nuncupatoria, Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*, in *PL*, 149:637: "Primum, quia infirmiores sexum, quod prius non erat, de habitatione vestra longius remotum exclusistis, vel in obsequio quotidiano tales famulos habere meruistis qui ex liberis ingenuis ultro se humiliantes, vobisque servientes, non aliam vitam quam illam quae est coelestis et perpetua expectant. De quibus tamen unum, quod si benevolentiae vestrae videretur, in proximo mutari vellem. Vellem utique ut non amplius permitterentur extra claustrum commorari; daretis eis habitum nostrum."

⁴⁴ A summary of the rule for the Hirschau lay brothers was written by Prior Heymo after the death of Abbot William in 1091. See *Vita beati Wilhelmi Hirsauigiensis abbatis*, c. 23, in *PL*, 150: 914–915. From the information available, Deroux appears to overemphasize the influence of Cluny on the Hirschau laybrotherhood: "Il est hors de doute que Guillaume trouva dans les coutumes de Cluny les éléments essentiels de cette institution" (*op. cit.*, p. 99). Referring to the advice of Ulrich (quoted above in note 43), he says, "Nous pouvons conclure de ce passage qu'il y avait des convers à Cluny, et que si Ulrich proposa à l'abbé d'Hirschau d'introduire des modifications dans leur genre de vie, il le faisait en prenant modèle sur ceux de son abbaye" (*ibid.*, p. 100).

⁴⁵ *Bernoldi Chronicon*, s.a. 1091, in *MGH SS*, 5: 453: "Non solum autem virorum set et feminarum innumerabilis multitudo his temporibus se ad huiusmodi vitam contulerunt, ut sub obedientia clericorum sive monachorum communiter viverent, eisque more ancillarum quotidiani servicii pensum devotissime persolverent."

⁴⁶ Chasles, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Deroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–110. Writers who were partisans of the emperor wrote disparagingly of the Hirschau *conversi*. For example, the chronicler of Lorsch ridiculed their beards (*Chronicon Laureshamense*, ed. K. A. F. Pertz, *MGH SS*, 21: 432).

knowledge in the monastic world, there was good reason for the adoption of the institution by the new orders of the late eleventh and the early twelfth centuries. The regulations governing lay brothers, as well as their functions, differed according to the character and spirit of particular orders and the influences that affected them. Since the Order of Grandmont was founded (by St. Stephen of Muret in 1076) on the model of the Camaldolese, it is highly probable that Stephen borrowed the idea for lay brothers from the same source.⁴⁷ The next important monastic group to employ the laybrotherhood was the Carthusian Order, founded by St. Bruno of Cologne at La Chartreuse near Grenoble in 1084.⁴⁸ The Carthusians never permitted the *conversi* to exercise the great influence of their Grandmont counterparts, who were in complete control of economic matters and possessed an equal share with the clerics in the election of the prior,⁴⁹ since the Carthusian lay brothers were strictly subordinated.⁵⁰ The other German order founded in this period, the Premonstratensian, established by St. Norbert of Xanten at Prémontré, not far from Rheims, in 1120–1121, also incorporated lay brothers, who labored under the direction of the canons with the aid of hired servants.⁵¹

In the twelfth century, before the latter order came into existence, there developed a most significant reinterpretation of Benedictinism under the leadership of the Cistercian Order. Founded in 1098 at Cîteaux by twenty-two monks from the Benedictine abbey of Molesme, the Order developed the laybrotherhood to the fullest. Cistercian *conversi* were introduced in 1100–1101,⁵² and the influence of their customs and practices was felt most widely. The Gilbertine Order, which was confined to England, adopted the laybrotherhood in direct imitation of the Cistercians, shortly after it was founded in 1130 by St. Gilbert of Sempringham.⁵³ To what extent the difficulty experienced by the Gilbertines in managing *conversi* affected the Cistercians is an interesting question.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 326–327; Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies, Being Some Essays in Research in Medieval History* (London, 1929), pp. 209–246.

⁴⁸ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 376–378.

⁴⁹ See below, p. 25.

⁵⁰ E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), pp. 4–47, 48, 115, 117, 122–123, 217, 256, 271, 333; Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 378–379.

⁵¹ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 434–436. On Premonstratensian methods of estate management, see F. L. Ganshof's section in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 1, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, edd. J. H. Clapham and Eileen Power (Cambridge, England, 1941), pp. 74–75.

⁵² See below, p. 17.

⁵³ Rose Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines, A History of the Only English Monastic Order* (London, 1901), pp. 11–12, 19–23, 64–67; Graham, *Eng. Eccles. Studies*, pp. 247–270.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 26.

The double monastery of Fontevrault, founded in 1100–1101 near Poitiers by St. Robert of Arbrissel, introduced lay sisters (*conversae*) to assist the nuns,⁵⁵ as did also the Gilbertines;⁵⁶ and lay sisters were also established in Cistercian nunneries. But how far the system was extended among the various Benedictine monasteries and nunneries is to be determined only by a close examination of the sources relevant to each case, since the words *conversi* and *conversae* were applied to categories other than lay brothers and lay sisters.⁵⁷

The Franciscans and Dominicans, in their turn, also adopted the laybrotherhood. Among the Franciscans, however, there was a gradual evolution of the status of the brothers as distinct from and subordinate to that of the priests. St. Francis and most of his followers were laymen, and the Franciscan Order, in the beginning a mixed order, became a clerical institute only after the priests deposed heavy-handed Elias of Cortona, the learned lay-brother minister-general and friend of St. Francis, in 1239, and achieved constitutional superiority over the lay brothers in 1240 and afterwards.⁵⁸

The Dominicans went through no such constitutional crisis. St. Dominic and his companions, who adopted the Rule of St. Augustine and supplementary constitutions based on the constitutions of the Premonstratensians, prescribed a clearly-defined status for their lay brothers.⁵⁹ St. Dominic almost decided to put lay brothers in complete charge of temporalities in order to relieve the fathers of all material distractions from study, but his companions dissuaded him by pointing to the unfortunate results of such an arrangement in the Order of Grandmont, where a series of revolts extending over several decades was a noisome warning to others.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 327–329; Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁵⁶ Graham, S. *Gilbert*, pp. 11–12.

⁵⁷ Some of these have been indicated by Berlière, "La Familia," *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74. For the Camaldolese, see Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., cols. 423–452. See also Berlière, "Les Monastères doubles aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles," *Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, t. 18 (1923), fasc. 3, pp. 27–32.

⁵⁸ See the excellent analysis by Blase Gitzen, "The Early Capuchin Lay Brother," *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, 11 (November, 1945), 9–14; also, Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte der wissenschaftliche Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1904), pp. 40 (note 3), 67–71, 74–75, 107–118, 333–334; and Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order from the Birth of St. Francis to the Division of the Order under Leo X, 1182–1517* (Milwaukee and Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 105–119. The restrictive legislation provided for the limitation of the number of lay brothers, the establishment of friary gardens for the brothers to cultivate, and the virtual debarment of lay brothers from the offices of minister, *custos*, and guardian.

⁵⁹ Mulhern's excellent monograph is the only complete study on the Dominican lay brother.

⁶⁰ *AA SS Boll*, 35 (Aug. I): 634: "Et ut Fratres fortius intenderent studio et praedicantibus, voluit F. Dominicus, quod Conversi ejus Ordinis illitterati praesent Fratribus litteratis in administratione et exhibitione rerum temporalium; sed

The regulations for *conversi* in the first Dominican Constitutions (1216) reflect the direct and indirect influence of the Cistercian example. St. Dominic had had many opportunities to familiarize himself with the Cistercian system. He knew Cistercian lay brothers, stopped at Cîteaux, participated in deliberations with Cistercian abbots in preaching against the Albigensians, and even as a boy lived near a Cistercian abbey.⁶¹ A comparison of the first Dominican legislation with the Cistercian regulations leaves no room for doubting direct borrowing by St. Dominic.⁶² But since Dominic had also been a canon regular and since "laybrothers were not uncommon among the canons" in the twelfth century, some allowance must be made for the possible influence of the customs of canons and especially of the customs of the cathedral chapter of Osma, of which Dominic had been a member.⁶³

Fratres Clerici noluerunt, quod Conversi praeessent eis, ne contingeret eis, sicut contigit Fratribus Grandimontensis Ordinis de suis Fratribus." On the Grandmont revolts, see below, p. 25. Cf. Mulhern, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

THE CISTERCIAN ECONOMIC REGIME AND THE CONVERSI

By the year 1100, then, lay brothers had been introduced extensively into the monasteries of the Continent. To the Cistercians they were a *sine qua non*, for the Order of Cîteaux, in the strictest abnegation, was strongly opposed to many Benedictine customs of the period, particularly to those of an economic nature.¹ In the Cistercian view, even the most fervent Benedictines were chained to the very world which they had sought to flee.

There was some truth to the charge. The inimitable picture of Bury St. Edmunds during the abbatial rule of Samson (1182-1212), sketched for us by Jocelin of Brakelond,² is one of the most valuable indices of Benedictine limitations.³ There, the obedientiary system, whereby the material income of the abbey was divided between the abbot and the monks and then supervised by appointees from the conventual body itself,⁴ led to interminable disputes within the monastery and served to give a commercial appearance to monastic routine.⁵ The variety of the financial resources of the abbey—which

¹ Among many accounts of Cistercian origins, the following are useful: U. Berlière, "Les Origines de Cîteaux et l'ordre bénédictin au XII^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1 (1900), 448-471; 2 (1901), 253-290; W. A. P. Mason, "The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n.s. 19 (1905), 169-207; Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux unter dem Abte Alberich (1099-1109)," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 21 (1909), 1-12, 41-50, 75-83, 109-118, 140-153; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 208-226; Jean-Berthold Mahn, *L'Ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle (1098-1265)* (Paris, 1945), pp. 40-70. Special attention must be called to the important contributions of Dom J. Othon Ducourneau, who died in 1929: "Les Origines cisterciennes," *Revue Mabillon*, 22 (1932), 133-164, 233-252; 23 (1933), 1-32, 81-111, 153-189. Cf. Jacques Laurent, "Le Problème des commencements de Cîteaux," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 6 (1934), 213-229 for a critical analysis of this and some disagreement.

² Thomas Arnold (ed.), *Jocelini de Brakelonda cronica*, in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (3 vols., London, 1890-1896), Vol. 1, pp. 209-336.

³ "His work remains the only one which gives a clear picture of everyday life in a black monastery, as seen from the standpoint of the average monk. . . . the purely spiritual ideal of the monastic life has been lost to view, and *esprit de corps* had come to occupy for many the position of a leading interest in life and guide of action" (Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308).

⁴ For an analysis of the obedientiary system, see *ibid.*, pp. 431-439. The system developed in England about 1100.

⁵ The division of the revenues in a house like Bury afforded the monks some protection against a luxury-loving abbot and relieved the abbey from excessive

included knights' fees, rights of presentment to churches, tithes, ground rents, tolls, rents from manors in farm and in demesne, and the usual monopolies of the feudal lord⁶—resulted in making too many of the community class-conscious officials who were exempt from the religious obligations of monks.⁷ There is no doubt that a capable abbot could repair recurring damages to the financial structure of the house, for the career of Samson is in itself conclusive proof.⁸ But his competence was more that of a feudal lord than that of a spiritual father. For his work the price was too high since, more often than was good, monetary cares, disputes, and manipulations made the religious atmosphere of his abbey a wish to be fulfilled.

There were other Benedictine abbeys, Saint-Denis and Saint-Trond,⁹ for example, in which disciplinary conditions were much improved. But even in such monasteries the means of gathering revenues could not contribute toward the establishment of the cloistered security which the Cistercians considered necessary for religious vocations. An analysis of Cluniac methods, moreover, shows that, though they were reformed now and then, they were just as unsatisfactory as those employed by other Benedictine abbeys. For the resources and secular entanglements of abbeys and priories in the Cluniac Order were as

exploitation during a vacancy. See R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, England, 1926), pp. 27–28; also, *Memorials*, Vol. 1, p. xxxvi, n. 2. On the other hand, it made matters unduly difficult for a capable abbot since he usually discovered the incompetence of monks' officials after the adventures in easy living had caused substantial damage. See *Jocelini cronica*, *Memorials*, Vol. 1, pp. 235–236, 289–293.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 235, 262, 269–271, 287–288, 317–320 (knights); 266–268 (churches); 268, 296 (tithes); 276, 278–281, 302–304 (rents and tolls); 234–238, 267, 302–303, 320–321 (manors).

⁷ Cf. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 438. An incident during the time of Samson illustrates the danger of appointing monks to farm, or manage, a manor or a group of manors. The monk Geoffrey Rufus had been put in charge of manors for which the full rent had not been secured previously. Geoffrey found time to render a proper account, to gain a reputation for questionable morals, and even to amass a private hoard of gold and silver amounting to 200 marks. When his morals became a matter of common knowledge, only then did Samson remove Geoffrey to the cloister. See *Jocelini cronica*, *Memorials*, Vol. 1, p. 320.

⁸ Within one year after becoming abbot, Samson had made arrangements for the payment of debts amounting to 3,052 pounds and one mark (excluding interest); and within twelve years, he had paid them in full (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 236). This accomplishment can be better appreciated in the light of the economic anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Abbot Hugh (1157–1180) (*ibid.*, pp. 209–214).

⁹ On Saint-Denis, the accounts concerning the rule of Abbot Suger are revealing. See *Sugerii vita*, written by his secretary William, and *Sugerii abbatis Sancti Dionysii liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis*, both in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867). In regard to Saint-Trond, see Henri Pirenne (ed.), *Le Livre de l'abbé Guillaume de Ryckel (1249–1272), Polyptyque et comptes de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond au milieu du XIII^e siècle* (Bruxelles, 1896); esp. pp. i–xxviii, for Pirenne's fine analysis of the economic state of monasteries and of Saint-Trond.

multiform as the Cistercian income and contacts with the world were limited.¹⁰

In their new attempt to sound the depths of Benedictine spirituality, the Cistercians aimed at stark simplicity. In abbeys far removed from populated centers, in the midst of solitude, they were expected to sustain themselves only with the aid of lay brothers and hired workers on the few possessions given them.¹¹ Their very precise rules forbade them to possess churches or cemeteries (for other than their own use), revenues pertaining to churches, tithes, *villae*, villeins, rents from lands, fees from ovens and mills, or any other income that might endanger the observance of monastic poverty.¹² Lay persons were not to be allowed to use Cistercian pastures or to cultivate the land of the Order on a share-cropping or leasehold basis.¹³ Under these conditions the *conversi* were an indispensable adjunct of each monastery in the Order. They would save the choir monks from the distractions of temporal business and of too frequent contact with the secular world. The *Exordium parvum* relates that the founders of Cîteaux reached the decision to accept lay brothers because the strict observance of the Rule by monks seemed an impossibility otherwise.¹⁴

¹⁰ Guy de Valous, *Le Temporel et la situation financière des établissements de l'ordre de Cluny du XII^e au XIV^e siècle particulièrement dans les provinces françaises* (Ligugé, 1935), pp. 97-123.

¹¹ C, 1: 14 (1134, I), 5.

¹² C, 1: 14-15 (1134, I), 9: "Ecclesias, altaria, sepulturas, decimas alieni laboris vel nutrimenti, villas, villanos, terrarum census, furnorum et molendinorum redditus, et cetera his similia monasticae puritati adversantia, nostri et nominis et ordinis excludit institutio."

¹³ C, 1: 19 (1134, I), 26: "Nullam cum saecularibus societatem in pecoribus nutriendis, seu terris excolendis habere permittitur, videlicet dando vel accipiendo medietariam vel creissementum." Servants, to whom there are countless references in the *Statuta*, were, of course, not excluded, but only *coloni* and the method of leasing land applied to them. Cf. U. Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique des origines au XII^e siècle* (2nd ed., Abbaye de Maredsous, 1927), pp. 301, 309, n. 24. See Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, esp. n. 2, for a discussion of the Cistercian renunciation of feudal and manorial resources. He lists various infractions of the *Statuta* in respect of tithes, churches, and other possessions.

¹⁴ PL, 166: 1507-1508, c. 15: "Tuncque definierunt se conversos laicos barbatos ex licentia episcopi sue suscepturos, eosque in vita sua et in morte, excepto monachatu, ut semetipsos tractaturos, et homines etiam mercenarios; quia sine adminiculo istorum non intellegebant se plenarie sive die sive nocte, praecepta Regulae posse servare." Chs. 9-17 of the *Exordium parvum* cover the period of Abbot Alberic's rule. In ch. 14 the letter of protection from Pope Paschal II is mentioned (October 19, 1100; Jaffé-Löwenfeld, no. 5842; PL, 163: 47). Since ch. 15 begins with "*Dehinc*," and since the introduction of lay brothers is mentioned a few lines later, the conclusion is justified that *conversi* were introduced in either late 1100 or early 1101. See Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux unter dem Abte Alberich (1099-1109)," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 21 (1909), 46-50, esp. p. 47; Father Müller's treatment of *conversi* is on pp. 111-114. Cf. Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, p. 28; Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, p. 140, n. 4. Othon prefers to date the institution of lay brothers from the beginning of 1101, though certain proof for such precision cannot be adduced.

The role and activities of the *conversi* can be determined from the *Usus conversorum* (written by St. Stephen Harding about 1119),¹⁵ from the *Regula conversorum* (written by a monk at Clairvaux after 1174)¹⁶ and from the statutes enacted annually by the general chapter. Once received as novices, the prospective lay brothers were instructed in their duties and taught the *Pater Noster*, *Credo*, *Miserere*, and short responsories, which they were to know from memory and not to read from a book.¹⁷ Upon the completion of the year's novitiate, they made their profession by forswearing property and promising obedience unto death.¹⁸ Thereafter, they could not become monks or priests,¹⁹ nor could they marry if they forsook their vocation.²⁰

¹⁵ Othon Ducourneau dates the redaction and promulgation between 1125 and 1133, the *terminus ad quem* being the year of St. Stephen's resignation. The reason for selecting the year 1125 is as follows: ". . . il ressort du Prologue de ces mêmes Us qu'il y avait déjà un assez grand nombre d'abbayes quand ils furent codifiés; or en 1120 il n'y en avait que 12, mais en 1125 il y en avait 25, et en 1130 on en comptait 28" (*ibid.*, p. 157, n. 2). On the contrary, it would seem that there is reference to "some" and "other" abbots (and thus abbeys), not to a great number; one is more justified in saying merely that there was a great number of *conversi* in the Order, which Ducourneau points out elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 170, n. 3). The *Usus conv.* may well have been promulgated in September, 1119, for the *Liber Usuum*, of which the *Usus conv.* was an integral part, was probably approved by Calixtus II, December 23, 1119. See Jaffé-Löwenfeld, no. 6795; and *PL*, 163:1147: "Nos ergo . . . capitula illa et constitutiones auctoritate apostolica confirmamus." See also *C*, 1: 2-4, esp. no. 3, for the events of 1119 at general chapter. It is worth noting that the *conversi* are mentioned in the bull of 1119 (*PL*, 163:1148) whereas they are not in that of 1100.

For information concerning various manuscripts and published editions of the *Usus conv.*, see the full account of Othon Ducourneau in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 157-160. To his list of mss. should be added that at the Abbey of Gethsemani, Trappist, Kentucky. See Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (3 vols., New York, 1935-1940), Vol. 1, p. 738. One of the two best editions is in Ph. Guignard (ed.), *Les Monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne publiés d'après les manuscrits de Cîteaux* (Dijon, 1878), pp. 276-287.

¹⁶ *Thesaurus novus*, t. 4, cols. 1647-1652. St. Bernard was not canonized until 1174. Since "Saint" is applied to the former abbot of Clairvaux, the *Regula* must have been written after that event. The work is really a commentary based on Bernardine customs and written for houses affiliated with Clairvaux (*ibid.*, t. 4, col. 1647). Cf. Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 159-160.

¹⁷ *Usus conv.*, c. 9 (Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

¹⁸ *Usus conv.*, c. 13 (Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 285).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Lay brothers were religious in the full sense of the word. They took the vow of obedience, in which were implicit the two other vows of poverty and chastity (Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 149-150). But since they did not advance to the "orders" of the clerical state, they were "lay" religious, and therefore to be distinguished from the clerical religious, or, for that matter, from secular clerics (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 144-145, n. 3). The barrier created a problem when clerics became *conversi* out of humility; so the general chapter was forced to make concessions by permitting them to put aside their lay-brother habit. See *C*, 1: 404 (1213), 1: 429 (1214), 58; 448 (1215), 62; and discussion in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange (2 vols., Cologne, 1851), dist. I, c. 39 (Vol. I, pp. 46-47). See also Gregor Müller, "Die Cistercienser Ordens-

To the reader of the *Usus conversorum* it is obvious that the lay brothers practiced many crafts. There were shoemakers, tanners, masons, and cooks among the *conversi*, just as there were farmers and herdsmen.²¹ While the craftsmen confined their activities principally to the shops of the abbey, most of the lay brothers worked out on the granges, or farms, during the week, tending the crops, animals, provender, vineyards, and barns, as circumstances required on a particular grange.²² The work of constructing and repairing buildings was an important task of the *conversi*. Some lay brothers were even skilled in medicine.²³ Upon others it devolved to market produce and make necessary purchases,²⁴ and in this business many became expert at sharp practices.²⁵ Lay brothers were also employed as messengers

priester," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 21 (1909), 22-29; and Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 168-169. But against the general prohibition, permission was seldom granted to lay brothers to advance to orders and the monastic habit. Father Othon, using Martène and Durand's statutes, knew of only one exception (in 1397). The following exceptions, however, are to be found in Canivez's collection for the period through the fifteenth century: *C*, 3: 695 (1397), 48; 3: 739 (1400), 18; 4: 67 (1404), 39; 4: 100 (1408), 21; 4: 531 (1443), 11; 4: 639-640 (1450), 83. Thus, there are six exceptions, and a probable seventh—*C*, 5: 511 (1485), 57. The first instance of a lay sister being permitted to become a nun occurred in 1426—*C*, 4: 298-299 (1426), 73. Permission was extended to a Camaldulensian lay brother in 1400 by Pope Boniface IX, but it was withdrawn in the same year after the prior and monks of St. Mary of Angels at Florence had protested that such a practice was prejudicial to the best interests of the Order (Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, t. 1, App., col. 411).

²⁰ Mansi, t. 21, cols. 527-528 (c. 7, Second Lateran Council, 1139), 715 (c. 7, Council of Rheims, 1148). See Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 150-151. The impediment must have applied from the earlier years when the institution of lay brothers was first introduced.

²¹ *Usus conv.*, c. 6 (Guignard, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282).

²² Some granges contained a dormitory, a refectory, and a calefactory (*ibid.*). While a grange had an oratory, altars were not allowed as a general rule nor were Masses to be said there (*C*, 1:87 [1180], 6; 1: 297-298 [1204], 11; 1: 307-308 [1205], 7). An infirmary on a grange was exceptional and was allowed only because of the great distance between a grange and an abbey (*C*, 2: 398 [1253], 37; 2: 418 [1255], 36). In regard to these buildings, a statement by Watkin Williams (*Monastic Studies* [Manchester, 1938], p. 46) is incorrect: "In order to avoid all risk of spiritual disaster . . . the only dwellings which may be built outside the monastery are such as are exclusively for the housing of animals. The possibility of there arising the necessity for a monk or for a *conversus* to sleep upon some occasion at a grange is reasonably contemplated, but the necessity must be grave."

²³ *C*, 1: 65 (1157), 46; 1: 84 (1175), 32.

²⁴ *C*, 1: 24 (1134, I), 24.

²⁵ In the following statutes regulating trade, one can see the determination of the general chapter to curb the profit motive: *C*, 1: 160 (1157), 4; 1: 61 (1157), 11, 19; 1: 64 (1157), 35, 37, 38; 1: 69 (1158), 3, 4; 1: 70 (1159), 2; 1: 84 (1175), 27; 1: 89 (1181), 10; 1: 95-96 (1184), 7; 1: 145 (1191), 76. In connection with the shipping activity of an abbey near the sea, in Flanders, the general chapter decreed: "Naves de Dunis non deferant aliena onera pro pretio" (*C*, 1: 130 [1190], 63). See also, below, p. 39.

and companions of abbots, bishops, important nobles, and kings.²⁶ King Richard I of England enjoyed the services of a lay brother as almoner, though not for long.²⁷ At another time, the general chapter ordered an investigation of the report that *conversi* were acting as grooms for the horses in the army of King Philip Augustus of France.²⁸ During the fourteenth century, papal almoners and *bullatores* were regularly appointed from among the lay brothers. Officials at the curia acted on the theory that *illiterati* serving as *bullatores* would be less inclined, or probably less able, to tamper with papal documents.²⁹

While there are a few instances of nobles and clerics concealing their status and becoming lay brothers under the motivation of humility,³⁰ the majority of *conversi* were recruited from that broad base

²⁶ The statutes are replete with information on this matter. Therefore, without reference to all pertinent statutes, the general features of Cistercian policy may be set down. From before 1134, lay brothers accompanied abbots annually to Cîteaux (C, 1: 23 [1134, I], 62). In the same period, they were assigned to Cistercian bishops (C, 1: 27 [1134, I], 61). The first indication that they were allowed to the pope dates from 1185 (C, 1: 98 [1185], 1), though Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153), a former Cistercian abbot, probably employed *conversi* in some capacity. Not even a cardinal could legitimately secure the services of a lay brother (C, 1: 169 [1193], 57), let alone the importunate nobles and other ecclesiastics who sought lay-brother artisans and administrators for secular tasks. Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne and protagonist of imperial claims, was reported by Caesarius of Heisterbach to have accepted good advice and secured *conversi* from Cistercian houses in his diocese (Altenkamp and Altenberg) in order to restore the farms of the see and to increase their income (*Dial. mirac.*, Vol. 1, p. 230, dist. IV, c. 62). The first instance of a relaxation of the rule occurred in 1212 when two monks and a lay brother were assigned to King Andrew II of Hungary to accompany him on his journey to the Holy Land (C, 1: 404 [1212], 66). But, in keeping with the general prohibition, penalties were imposed for violations until 1220 (C, 1: 414 [1213], 53; 1: 490 [1218], 31; 1: 509 [1219], 30). Thereafter, a general relaxation took place with the concession that monks and lay brothers could be assigned by abbots to the service of archbishops, bishops, and kings as confessors and almoners (C, 1: 516–517 [1220], 3). By the year 1233, the permission was also extended to princes on condition that the general chapter grant a special leave in each case (C, 2: 111 [1233], 3); and despite the announcement of a complete withdrawal of such concessions in 1270 (C, 3: 83 [1270], 14), the practice of assigning lay brothers to princes and nobles was continued through the thirteenth century until *conversi* became less numerous (C, 3: 102 [1271], 65, 67; 3: 135 [1274], 40; 3: 136 [1274], 48; 3: 192 [1279], 65).

²⁷ C, 1: 215–216 (1197), 30. This occurred before the privilege was conceded to lay persons.

²⁸ C, 1: 277 (1202), 13. For other violations, see C, 1: 256 (1200), 37; 1: 261–262 (1200), 66; 1: 315 (1205), 39; 1: 380 (1211), 11; 1: 399–400 (1212), 45; 1: 400 (1212), 48.

²⁹ K. H. Schäfer (ed.), *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII nebst den Jahresbilanzen von 1316–1375, mit darstellender Einleitung* (Paderborn, 1911), pp. 9, 315, 640, 638.

³⁰ C, 1: 108 (1188), 8: “Nobiles laici venientes ad monasterium non fiant conversi sed monachi.” For the case of the knight Walewanus, see *Dial. mirac.*, Vol. 1, pp. 46–47, dist. I, c. 39. See also Othon, *op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 161–162, for a list of lay brothers who were distinguished by birth or attainments. Among them are St. Bernard’s uncle, Milo, Alain de l’Isle, Simon of Guelders, Prince Alexander of Scotland, and Salomon, the prince-heir to Austria.

of society consisting of the peasantry. They were unlettered and simple men who had been inured to hard work. Many had been freed from serfdom by liberal lords who favored Cistercian monasteries nearby.³¹ Abbé Vacandard was of the opinion that, before entering Clairvaux, the *conversus* "was only a freedman, perhaps a serf, at the most a *colonus*, rarely a man enjoying complete liberty."³² It should be added, however, that in northeast Germany and the Slav country, or in those areas of waste, bog, and moor—where a movement roughly comparable with the settlement of the American West was working tremendous transformations—the opportunity to serve God and remain close to the soil must have appealed to many of those newcomers in rural society, the *hospites* or *hôtes*.³³ Even a criminal or murderer, on occasion, must have found his way into a Cistercian abbey as a lay brother.³⁴

³¹ E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux* (4th ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1927), Vol. 1, pp. 450–451.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 450.

³³ Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg (New York, 1937), pp. 69–71.

³⁴ Archbishop Peckham's passing remark in 1289 is of interest here: ". . . al Northpays, u murdrers a pres lur maufet, se rendent convers as Abbeies de Cisteaus et sunt saufs." See C. T. Martin (ed.), *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (3 vols., London, 1882–1885), Vol. 3, pp. 968–969, *ep.* 702; also, J. S. Fletcher, *The Cistercians in Yorkshire* (London, 1919), pp. 156–157. An incident in the history of Waverley is suggestive of how such a person might eventually become a lay brother. See *Annales de Waverleia*, s. a. 1240, in H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales monastici* (5 vols., London, 1864–1869), Vol. 2, pp. 325–327; also, William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel (6 vols. in 8, London, repr. 1846), Vol. 5, p. 239, n. "u."

VIOLATIONS OF DISCIPLINE AND THEIR EFFECTS

DURING THE TWELFTH CENTURY, most of the *conversi* probably observed the rules prescribed for them. There is no dearth of testimonies to their deep religious feeling and to the high esteem in which some of the brethren were held.¹ On several occasions, St. Bernard moralized on the excellence and humility of certain lay brothers at Clairvaux for the edification of the monks assembled in chapter.² One of these incidents was selected by Abbé Vacandard in order to illustrate the fact that similar episodes were not wanting in the twelfth century.³ He suggested that the humble French peasant of Jean François Millet's "Angelus" would recognize in the lay brother of Clairvaux his model and predecessor.⁴

But the "*silence de mort*" which Abbé Vacandard visualized on the Cistercian domain was often seriously disturbed by dissatisfaction. Instead of interrupting their labors to recite their "hours" on the grange, many *conversi*, like Liffardus of Hemmenrode,⁵ contemplated the swine they herded with ennui, pondered the indignity of their task, and decided that green pastures were simply boring. Even more disastrous to discipline and tranquillity were the numerous revolts

¹ *Dial. mirac.*, Vol. 1, pp. 150-155, 175-176, 246-247, 382; Vol. 2, pp. 16, 17, 71-72, 73, 98, 111, 115, 141-142, 161-162, 175-176, 193, 198-199, 221, 274-275, 275-276, 276-277; *Exord. magnum*, dist. IV, c. 15, 17, 18, 23, 31 (*PL*, 185 II: 1105-1119); and other instances cited below in reference to St. Bernard. There are also examples of lay brothers sleeping in choir (*Dial. mirac.*, Vol. 1, pp. 202-203, 203, 250, 333; Vol. 2, p. 15) and of lapses grievous and trivial (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 210-211, 211, 294-295, 316-317; Vol. 2, pp. 214-215; *Exord. magnum*, dist. IV, c. 29 [*PL*, 185 II: 1111-1112]; dist. V, c. 4 [*PL*, 185 II: 1135-1137]). Caesarius, master of novices and prior of Heisterbach, wrote the *Dialogus ca.* 1220-1235, and died *ca.* 1240-1250. See Alexander Kaufmann, *Caesarius von Heisterbach, ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (2nd ed., Cologne, 1862), pp. 77-98; and G. G. Coulton's introduction to H. Scott and C. C. S. Bland (trans.), *The Dialogue on Miracles* (2 vols., London, 1929), Vol. 1, pp. xv-xvii.

² *Exord. magnum*, dist. IV, c. 12 (*PL*, 185 II: 1104; 185 I: 441-442), c. 19 (*PL*, 185 II: 1107; 185 I: 442-444), c. 13 (*PL*, 185 II: 1104; 185 I: 439-441).

³ Vacandard, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 447-449.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

⁵ *Dial. mirac.*, Vol. 1, p. 175, dist. IV, c. 4: "Cum esset senex, et diu porcos pavisset, talia coepit in cogitationibus suis tractare: Quid est quod ago? Homo sum bene natus, sed propter hoc vile officium omnibus amicis meis despectus. Non ero diutius in hoc loco subulcus ad illorum confusionem. Ex quo mihi non parcitur, recedam hinc."

raised by groups of lay brothers in various houses, to which frequent references are contained in the statutes of the Order from the end of the twelfth century.

There are many so-called conspiracies mentioned in the statutes. A large number of them do not constitute what we ordinarily understand as full-blown revolts or rebellions against monastic discipline. Thus, those who were pyromaniacs or thieves, or who struck the abbot, or repulsed official visitors, or revealed the secret affairs of the Order to others all come under the same sentence "of conspirators."⁶ It has seemed best, therefore, to indicate only those incidents which involved collusion on the part of a group within the monastic community. In this way a better idea can be furnished of the influence of disaffected groups.

Among approximately 123 serious disturbances culled from the records for the period 1190–1308,⁷ one was caused by lay sisters;⁸ one by nuns;⁹ one by an abbess, nuns, and *conversae*;¹⁰ and two by an abbess, nuns, lay brothers, and lay sisters.¹¹ Three were started by abbots and monks;¹² two by abbots;¹³ five by abbots, monks, and lay brothers;¹⁴ and one by an abbot and *conversi*.¹⁵ Eleven revolts were of unknown origin.¹⁶ For most of the outbreaks, however, monks and lay brothers were responsible. Monks caused twenty,¹⁷ monks and *conversi* twenty-seven,¹⁸ and *conversi* forty-nine.¹⁹ Several considerations could result in a downward revision of the total number from 123 to 110.²⁰ But it is still maintained that, with allowance made for

⁶ For legislation on conspiracy and grave fault, see *C*, 1: 27–28 (1134), 44; 28 (1134), 45; 62 (1157), 26; 93 (1183), 11; 98–99 (1185), 6; 112–113 (1189), 14; 143 (1191), 53; 188 (1195), 42; 234 (1199), 8; 265 (1201) 11, 12; 346 (1208), 2; 2: 49 (1226), 4; 3: 304 (1301), 3; 307 (1302), 6.

⁷ See Appendix for the list.

⁸ Appendix, no. 88.

⁹ No. 81.

¹⁰ No. 120.

¹¹ Nos. 66, 67.

¹² Nos. 35, 105, 107.

¹³ Nos. 33, 43.

¹⁴ Nos. 5, 48, 71, 106, 118.

¹⁵ No. 31.

¹⁶ Nos. 8, 17, 26, 30, 68, 86, 92, 100, 114, 115, 119.

¹⁷ Nos. 21, 22, 39, 44, 47, 58, 59, 60, 69, 73, 74, 84, 89, 95, 103, 104, 112, 113, 116, 121.

¹⁸ Nos. 2, 7, 18, 20, 27, 32, 36, 37, 50, 51, 54, 55, 62, 63, 70, 72, 80, 83, 87, 93, 99, 108, 109, 110, 111, 117, 122.

¹⁹ Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 61, 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 85, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 123.

²⁰ Thirteen incidents are of doubtful nature; nos. 3, 4, 16, 34, 37, 53, 72, 84, 89, 95, 112, 113, and 116. Since monks were involved in six of these (nos. 84, 89, 95, 112, 113, 116), monks and *conversi* in two (nos. 37 and 72), and *conversi* in five (nos. 3, 4, 16, 34, 53), the number for each group might be reduced to fourteen, twenty-five, and forty-four respectively.

differences of opinion in marginal cases, another investigator should reach the same conclusion, namely, that the recalcitrance of lay brothers in the monastic community was more than ordinary.²¹

A scrutiny of the outstanding cases of rebellion originating among lay brothers will reveal their nature and effect in particular monasteries. But first of all, some attention should be given to the phenomenon of general monastic concern for the status and role of lay brothers during the second half of the twelfth century.

In 1181, the Cistercian general chapter prohibited the *conversi* from being present at the election of abbots.²² Whether the *conversi* had earlier enjoyed the right to vote is a moot question.²³ Therefore,

²¹ The geographical distribution of the forty-nine revolts attributed to lay brothers may be of interest. In France there were seventeen (nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, 19, 23, 24, 28, 34, 45, 46, 49, 52, 57, 65, 75, 98); in Germany, nine (nos. 1, 15, 16, 25, 56, 64, 82, 97, 101); in Italy, nine (nos. 53, 76, 77, 78, 79, 85, 90, 91, 96); in Wales, three (nos. 12, 13, 94); in Flanders, three (nos. 38, 42, 123); in England, two (nos. 14 and 41); in Hungary, two (nos. 11 and 29); in Spain, one (no. 61); and in unknown localities, three (nos. 4, 40, 102). It would be dangerous to draw detailed conclusions from this tabulation, since the time of the disturbances (and therefore conditions in the region and in the Order generally) as well as discipline among the monks would have to be taken into consideration. The large number of revolts in France, Germany, and Italy is roughly proportionate to the large number of Cistercian abbeys in these regions.

²² C, 1: 88 (1181), 2: "Interdicitur generaliter ne conversi intersint electionibus abbatum."

²³ The inference that lay brothers cast a vote before 1181 has usually been drawn from a remark made by St. Bernard in 1151. The abbot of Clairvaux protested to Cardinal Hugh, formerly abbot of Trois-Fontaines, that not a monk or a *conversus* of that abbey, with the exception of two or three who were on Hugh's side, would assent to the choice made by Hugh and Bernard to fill the abbatial vacancy at Trois-Fontaines. Hugh, who became a cardinal in the previous year, had agreed with Bernard to recommend Nicholas as his successor. Instead, the community elected Turolde of Clairvaux, against whom no objection could be raised. Shortly afterwards, St. Bernard heard that the pope and Hugh believed that he had disregarded the agreement in favor of a friend. The abbot of Clairvaux therefore defended himself. The pertinent passage is as follows: ". . . nec unus quidem monachus, sive conversus, praeter duo aut tres, qui vestrates erant, acquieverit assentire" (*S. Bern. epp., ep. 303, PL, 182: 508*). Reference to this is made incorrectly in Mabillon's note to *ep. 143 (PL, 182: 299)*, but correctly in the preface to the second part of the sixth Benedictine century (*AA SS OSB, saec. VI², t. 9, p. xl*). For a discussion of the affair, see Ailbe J. Luddy, *Life and Teaching of St. Bernard* (Dublin, 1927), pp. 654-657, and Watkin Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Manchester, 1935), p. 351. Mabillon and others following him have assumed that lay brothers normally voted in abbatial elections. Othon, however, argues to the contrary (*op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 153-155): "Cette phrase, à notre avis, prouve simplement que Nicolas était si peu sympathique à la communauté que pas même les convers n'auraient voulu l'avoir pour supérieur . . . Ce n'est que par amplification que les convers sont nommés. Il avait été d'autant plus impossible de faire agréer ce candidat que tous y étaient opposés, même les convers!" (*Ibid.*, p. 155). Furthermore, Father Othon points out, the right of suffrage for *conversi* would have been a formal violation of the constitu-

either the lay brothers in some abbeys were exerting undue influence which had to be curbed, or their right to vote was considered an unwise concession which had to be revoked.

Although incontrovertible proof is not available, there is some evidence that characterizes the enactment of 1181 as a reaction to difficulties with lay brothers in two other orders and among the Cistercians themselves. The *conversi* of the Order of Grandmont, who were in complete control of economic affairs and possessed an equal share in the election of the prior,²⁴ began the first of several revolts in 1185 when they imprisoned Prior William and installed their own nominee in his place.²⁵ Specific proof that the peace of the Order was disturbed before 1181 is lacking. But one may assume the relaxation of austerity and the increased wealth of the Order of Grandmont

tions of the Order, for these denied the rights of the monastic state to the *conversi* and placed the election of abbots in the hands of the monks of the abbey, abbots who belonged to the community at one time, and the father-abbot (see *Charta Karitatis*, c. 21, in *C*, t. 1, p. xxix). Father Othon concedes that the statute of 1181 indicates at most that the lay brothers had been permitted to abuse or had attempted to abuse the prohibition by taking part in elections. On the other hand, though Father Othon's arguments are cogent, it does not appear conclusive that St. Bernard was indulging in a *reductio ad absurdum* in his letter; nor is it incongruous that lay brothers could have been allowed to attend elections and to vote at them with the tacit approval of the Order, the constitutions to the contrary, for many of the eventual changes in other Cistercian policies originated in the practices of various abbeys, became "custom" in many, and finally won the approval of the general chapter. Still, it is even more likely that the statute of 1181 was directed against the presence of lay brothers at elections. Being present, they could easily become vociferous as the poll was taken. In this case, it is to be noted that there was no earlier prohibition against their being present at elections. Experience may have taught, as it so often does, that mere presence at an election meant a change from a passive role to active participation.

²⁴ *Regula Sancti Stephani*, c. 60, *PL*, 204: 1160.

²⁵ Wilhelm Meyer, "De scismate Grandimontanorum (vier lateinische Rythmen von 1187)," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1906* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 49-100, esp. pp. 53-82, for a discussion of the revolt of 1185-1188. There is no complete analysis of all the Grandmont revolts. The revolt of 1216 made an impression on the Dominicans (see above, p. 13). In fact, the unfortunate Grandmont clerics must have been the butt of many a joke. Jacques de Vitry and Guiot de Provins told somewhat the same humorous story. See Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, pp. 223-224; Mulhern, *Early Dominican Laybrother*, pp. 25-28; Raymund Webster, "Grandmont, Abbey and Order of," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6, pp. 725-726 (excellent observations); *AA SS Boll*, 34 (Aug. I: 492-493; *Gallia*, t. 2, col. 650; *AA SS Boll*, 5 (Feb. II): 201-202 (Jacques de Vitry); John Orr (ed.), *Les Oeuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique* (Manchester, 1915), pp. 54-59. In respect of the affair of 1185, see also the letters of Bishop Stephen of Tournai to the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux, who had been delegated by the pope to act as judges with three Benedictine abbots (*PL*, 211: 417, *ep.* 134), and to the papal *cancellarius* (*PL*, 211: 417-418, *ep.* 135); also, the letter to the abbot of Cîteaux, thanking the Order for the aid and refuge afforded the clerics in their hardship (*PL*, 211: 419-420, *ep.* 138).

fostered a spirit of insubordination among the lay brothers.²⁶ In such a case, the unfortunate misplacement of authority, before the real revolt, might well have served as a warning to the Cistercians.

Again, the sad experience of St. Gilbert of Sempringham must have been taken as a danger signal in the monastic world by that time, for the Gilbertine lay brothers rose in revolt about 1166-1167 and remained a problem until about 1169.²⁷ The Gilbertine Order was eventually exonerated of the charge of immorality brought by the *conversi*.²⁸ However, a revolt by lay brothers, who were even organized on the Cistercian model,²⁹ must have been of more than common concern to Cistercian abbots.³⁰

While it is possible, in the light of these facts alone, to regard the statute of 1181 as a matter of purely coincidental internal polity, some remarks made by St. Hildegard of Bingen make such an interpretation tenuous. St. Hildegard's words may be taken as a probable indication that all was not serene among the *conversi* at the Cistercian monastery of Eberbach near Worms. Her statement is, furthermore, a definite indictment of the lay brothers as a group. Prior Meffridus of Eberbach requested the celebrated Benedictine abess to send him what he had heard she had written on the subject of *conversi* under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, so that Eberbach might profit by knowing the will of God.³¹ St. Hildegard's answer, buried in an allegorical

²⁶ Webster, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Graham, *S. Gilbert*, pp. 19-23; M. D. Knowles, "The Revolt of the Lay Brothers of Sempringham," *EHR*, 50 (1935), 465-487 (most complete analysis of the affair, for eleven of the sixteen pertinent letters are therein edited and published for the first time).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 473. The lay brothers Ogger and Gerard, after St. Gilbert had attempted to correct them for dishonesty and immorality, went before the pope in France, accused the nuns and canons of the Order of immorality, and complained that St. Gilbert had compelled the *conversi* to make a new profession. Both of these charges were false (*ibid.*, pp. 469-470). The lay brothers had originally been in sole charge of the cultivation of the land and had custody of the revenues of the nunneries under the jurisdiction of St. Gilbert. But they became jealous of the canons, who were instituted shortly after 1147 to care for the spiritual needs of the nuns (*ibid.*, pp. 467, 469). This feeling, added to the growing dissatisfaction with the severity of the rule, constituted the motive for the rebellion (*ibid.*, p. 469).

²⁹ The Gilbertine lay brothers were instituted *ca.* 1132-1133 at the earliest (*ibid.*, p. 473), and organized on the Cistercian plan. Their rule was also based on the Cistercian *Usus conv.* (Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 206, n. 1).

³⁰ It may also be observed that exoneration of St. Gilbert, the nuns, and the canons came only after a series of investigations by order of Pope Alexander III and Thomas à Becket. Dom Knowles comments: "When all is said and done, . . . the most remarkable feature of the business is that two or three unlettered and immoral *conversi* should have been able so completely to gain the ear of a very able pope, assisted by the archbishop of Canterbury who was a personal friend of Gilbert . . ." (*EHR*, 50 [1935], 474). How easy it would have been for the Cistercians, under such circumstances, to learn by vicarious experience, even as the Dominicans learned much later.

³¹ *PL*, 197: 260, *ep.* 51: "Insuper etiam obnixe rogamus, ut litteras, quas de saecularibus et idiotis ad spiritalem conversationem conversis, quos nos conversos

interpretation of a passage from the Apocalypse, was nonetheless specific. It is especially illuminating since it was written in the period 1148–1179.³² The Cistercians, she replied,

draw a certain other class of men to themselves, whom they call *conversi*, of whom very many do not convert themselves to God in their habits because they love perversity rather than uprightness, and perform their duties with the noise of termerity, saying thus of their prelates: "Who and what are they? And what were we?" Or, "What are we?" And since they so act, they are like false prophets, especially because they do not correctly discern how God established His people. You who fear God, therefore, hear the Spirit of the Lord saying to you: "Remove these . . . evils from you and purge yourselves . . ." You masters, admonish and correct in your Order the above-mentioned men, the *conversi*, for most of them labor neither day nor night since they serve perfectly neither God nor the world, and just as a good farmer purges his garden of useless herbs, rouse them from that ignorance . . .³³

Indeed, it is possible that this advice was offered as a preventive against any recurrence of the revolt by lay brothers which threatened to become very serious in 1168 at Schoenau, a daughter house, or filiation, of Eberbach.³⁴ Unfortunately, however, the letter cannot be dated exactly.

In the last analysis, though, it is obvious that the Cistercian *conversi* presented the Order with a serious disciplinary problem. It is difficult, otherwise, to understand the pressing curiosity of Prior Mefridus and the strong language of St. Hildegard, even if we grant some hyperbole in her statement. Furthermore, one cannot fail to notice how, at the end of the twelfth century, disturbances increased and

dicimus, Spiritu sancto vos scripsisse audivimus, nobis benigne transmittere non dubitetis, quatenus mirifica opera Dei et voluntatem ejus in ipsis videamus, et quantum poterimus, toto affectu bonorum operum illa sequamur et compleamus."

³² Although some of the letters of St. Hildegard can be dated either precisely or within a few years, many defy such analysis because of the absence of internal evidence and because of the relative obscurity surrounding some of her correspondents. See *PL*, 197: 10–90, for a discussion of the life and writings of St. Hildegard. She founded the nunnery of St. Rupert of Bingen in 1148 and became abbess in the following year. Shortly afterwards, she was permitted by Pope Eugenius III, subsequent to an examination, to make public her prophecies. She died in 1179.

³³ *Responsum Hildegardis*, *PL*, 197: 263–264: "Haec itaque praeclara genera . . . aliud quoddam genus hominum ad se trahunt, quos ipsi conversos vocant, quorum plurimi se ad Deum in moribus suis non convertunt, quia contrarietatem potius quam rectitudinem diligunt, et opera sua cum sono temeritatis agunt, de praelatis suis sic dicentes. Qui sunt, et quid sunt isti? Et quid fuimus, aut quid sumus nos? Et quoniam sic agunt, pseudo-prophetis similes sunt, et quia non recte dijudicant, quomodo Deus populum suum constituit. Vos ergo qui Deum timetis, audite Spiritum Domine ad vos dicentem: Haec . . . mala a vobis auferte, et vosmetipsos . . . purgate . . . vos magistri supradictos homines, scilicet conversos, in ordine vestro corripite et corrigite, quia plurima pars eorum nec in die, nec in nocte operatur, quoniam nec Deo, nec saeculo ad perfectum serviunt, et eos ab ignorantia ista excitate, velut bonus pigmentarius horum suum ab inutilibus herbis purgat . . ."

³⁴ See below, pp. 34–35, and Appendix, no. 1.

how, simultaneously, wine and beer in the diet of the lay brothers became a question of the hour.³⁵

The Cistercians produced wine or beer on their domains according to the region, since these beverages were basic parts of the daily diet and also fruitful sources of revenue.³⁶ Wine and beer were drunk by lay brothers in the abbeys, but not on the granges.³⁷ It would seem, however, that the general chapter, in 1184, suddenly realized that the unauthorized practice of giving wine and beer to monks and *conversi* on the granges was so strong a custom in some regions that it could not be checked completely. The practice was then prohibited in Flanders, the French royal domain (*Francia*), Normandy, and northern Italy, as well as in England where liquor on granges must have been forbidden even before 1184 (though there is no record of the ban).³⁸

³⁵ The analysis which follows above is an attempt to give a fuller statement of the relevance of drinking wine and beer to discipline among the lay brothers. Hoffmann's exposition (*Konverseninstitut*, pp. 92-93) is thorough on the basis of Martène and Durand's statutes. Othon's treatment (*op. cit.*, in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 2, pp. 183-184) is less satisfactory. Ludwig Dolberg took cognizance of the relationship between liquor and discipline in "Die Cistercienser-Mönche und Conversen als Landwirte und Arbeiter," *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden*, 13 (1892), 506-507; but he practically ignored it in his article on food and pittance, "Die Cistercienser beim Mahle. Servitien und Pitantien," *ibid.*, 17 (1896), 609-629. There are a few remarks concerning wine by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville and L. Pigeotte, *Etudes sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes, et principalement de Clairvaux; au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1858), pp. 118-121, 308-309, 322-323, and by d'Arbois de Jubainville, "De la nourriture des Cisterciens principalement à Clairvaux au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 4th s., 4 (1857-1858), 273-275.

The question of permitting the drinking of wine and beer to *conversi* at granges is a part of the general problem of pittance, or more sumptuous food, which can also be traced through the statutes. The general chapter fully realized that monks and lay brothers fell into the habit of inducing secular friends to make earmarked donations and that they were only too ready to conjure up a fictitious custom of long standing once a breach had been made in the wall of discipline. Thus, in a spirit of censure, the general chapter pointed out in 1294 that "the kingdom of God is not in food and drink but peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." See, in general, *C*, 1: 66 (1157), 50; 106-107 (1187), 7, 8; 112 (1189), 9; 178 (1194), 47; 484 (1217), 84, 85; 466 (1217), 8; 2: 15 (1222), 12; 462 (1260), 5; 477 (1261), 8; 3: 269 (1294), 9; 291 (1297), 29.

³⁶ In 1182, because of the poverty of some abbeys, the vending of wine on tap through seculars in taverns outside the monastic precincts and granges was permitted. See *C*, 1: 25 (1134, I), 52; 90 (1182), 6; 94 (1183), 18; 103-104 (1186), 6.

³⁷ *Usus conv.*, c. 15 (Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 286), c. 8 (*ibid.*, p. 282); *Regula conv.*, c. 1 (*Thesaurus novus*, t. 4, col. 1647), c. 12 (*ibid.*, col. 1651). Cf. Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, p. 92; Dolberg, *Stud. u. Mittheil.*, 13 (1892), 506.

³⁸ *C*, 1: 97 (1184), 15: "Scimus quia in quibusdam terris concessum est et toleratum ut in grangiis vinum vel siceram habeant, et non potest nunc revocari. In certis autem terris quidam de novo sua praesumptione coeperunt; propterea sicut sententia data fuit de cervisiis in Anglia, sic irretractabiliter teneatur; et similiter teneatur in Flandria, et in Francia, et in Normannia, et in Cenomannia." A statute

In the following year, Sens and Rheims were included within the prohibited area, but not Aquitaine;³⁹ and the general prohibition was repeated then and again in 1186.⁴⁰ At the general chapter of 1186, also, the question was debated whether spirituous liquors be withheld from granges where they were ordinarily permitted, if a "conspiracy" took place there; for the time being, however, the matter was left to the discretion of the abbot.⁴¹ One looks in vain for any record of the discussion promised for 1187.

The situation in Wales and England—at Margam and Garendon, in particular—is enlightening.⁴² In 1190, the abbot of Margam was informed by the general chapter that the penance previously imposed upon him and his subjects for beer-drinking on the granges was to be carried out.⁴³ In the following year, a report was made because some violations occurred there, for which the abbot was again punished, and, what is more significant, for which two lay brothers were ordered to betake themselves to Clairvaux for the punishment prescribed by the general chapter.⁴⁴ This Dom Knowles understood to involve something more than the mere abuse of drinking beer.⁴⁵ In the case of Mar-

of 1180 seems to indicate that the practice in question was licit in some areas: "Quando laborant monachi ad grangias ubi vinum vel cervisia dari non solet similiter ipsi abstineant, quamdiu ibi fuerint, nullam pitantiam potus accipientes ab aliquo" (C, 1: 87 [1180], 10). Therefore, Hoffmann's interpretation of this latter statute is slightly incorrect: "Selbst die Mönche sollen sich des Weines enthalten, wenn sie auf die Grangie kommen" (*Konverseninstitut*, p. 92). Moreover, one might conclude that many other areas did not fall within the prohibition on the assumption that the practice would most likely develop unless specific mandates were issued to the contrary.

³⁹ C, 1: 99 (1185), 9: "Sententia praeterito anno dictata de vino vel cervisiis non dandis ad grangias, sicut scripta est teneatur; et quod in ea dicitur in Francia, non est intelligendum in Aquitania, sed in Senonensi et Remensi provincia."

⁴⁰ C, 1: 104 (1186), 10: "Sententia praeterito anno data de non bibendo vino vel cerviciis in grangiis quarundam provinciarum firmiter teneatur."

⁴¹ C, 1: 104 (1186), note to 10: "De cetero quoque sub eadem sententia prohibetur ne quis ordinis nostri monachus vel conversus scientes in illis grangis [sic] ubi hoc anno conspiratio noscerit perpetrata, a proximo festo sancti Lucae usque ad diem festum sequentis anni vinum vel cervisiam non bibant, nisi presente vel donante abbate si voluerit, ut hoc anno deliberetur et in sequenti plenius tractetur capitulo."

⁴² The difficulty involved in adjusting the Welsh character to Cistercian discipline is noteworthy. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 348, 654-655.

⁴³ C, 1: 123 (1190), 21: "Abbas de Margan, in cuius grangiis sententia de non bibenda cervisia contempta est, poenitentiam ab olim super eodem excessu datam, . . . , exequatur."

⁴⁴ C, 1: 138 (1191), 23: "Abbas de Margan propter enormitates quae factae sunt in domo eius, quadraginta diebus extra stallum suum, sex in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua. Conversi vero eius Iordanus hospitalis et Radulphus statim post reditum ipsius veniant in Claramvallem, ibi agent paenitentiam a generali Capitulo praedictam."

⁴⁵ *Monastic Order*, p. 659. Knowles' treatment (pp. 656-658, 659-661) of the problem of beer-drinking and of other lay-brother disturbances in Wales and England is complete.

gam, the lay brothers were responsible for a violent and ludicrous outbreak about 1206. They threw the cellarer from his horse, armed themselves and chased the abbot some fifteen miles, barricaded themselves in their dormitory, and denied food to the monks.⁴⁶

The insistence upon the prohibition of wine and beer on the granges may in part explain the turbulence, for between 1190 and 1206 other restrictions had been enacted.⁴⁷ In 1192, the abbots of England were censured for permitting the *conversi* to drink beer on the granges and were forbidden to receive lay brothers as long as the condition continued.⁴⁸ Then, in 1195, an attempt was made to eradicate the abuse everywhere by allowing only one cooked food (in place of the ordinary two) on the granges where wine might be used.⁴⁹ In Wales, in that year, the abbot of Cwmhir was deprived of his horses by *conversi*, probably of his own abbey, because he refused them beer.⁵⁰ At the same time, it was provided in another statute that, until water was made the sole beverage on the granges of Wales, no lay brothers should be received.⁵¹

Before the meeting of the next general chapter, in the fall of 1196, a grave incident occurred at the monastery of Garendon in Leicester-

⁴⁶ C, 1: 324 (1206), 23: "Conversi de Margan qui, conspiratione facta, insurrexerunt in abbatem, et cellarium de equo eiecerunt, et insequentes armata manu abbatem usque ad XV millia, qui etiam se in castellaverunt in dormitorio suo, et negato victu monachis, per omnia conspiratorum sententia puniantur, ita quod qui magis culpabiles inventi fuerint, tam de emissis quam de emittendis, ad portam Claraevallis pedites veniant, inde ad nutum abbatis Claraevallis per domos Ordinis dispergendi, hoc observato ne ultra conversi novitii in domo illa de Margan recipiantur, nisi de consensu Capituli generalis." There is no reference in regard to later permission to receive lay-brother novices, though such permission was probably granted.

⁴⁷ At this time, also, the general chapter had still to deal with two abbeys which permitted the sale of wine on their granges, namely, Tamie in 1190 and Fontmorigny in 1193. C, 1: 125 (1190), 36; 161 (1193), 33.

⁴⁸ C, 1: 149 (1192), 16: "In abbatibus Angliae, in quibus conversi contra instituta Capituli generalis cervisiam bibunt et incorrigibiles perseverant, quamdiu apud eos huiusmodi culpa duraverit nullus conversus recipiatur." There is no reference to granges in this statute. Moreover, the statute in one ms. expressly states that *conversi* were not to drink beer either in the abbey or on the granges. C, 1: 149 (1192) note "a" to 16: "Non licet conversis secundum Instituta capituli generalis cervisiam bibere, sive in grangiis, sive etiam in abbatibus, et ea de causa puniuntur et abbates et conversi de Anglia." The prohibition, however, would seem to have applied to the granges alone, and not to the abbeys, judging by the *instituta* already considered, of which these two versions make mention.

⁴⁹ C, 1: 185 (1195), 18: "In cellariis et grangiis in quibus vinum bibitur, unum solummodo pulmentum habeatur."

⁵⁰ C, 1: 191 (1195), 66: "Conversi Walliae qui abbati de Gunthlimur equos abstulerunt, quia cervisiam eis inhibuerat, Claramvallem pedites veniant et stent ad arbitrium domini Claraevallis."

⁵¹ C, 1: 193 (1195), 76: "Abbatibus Walliae praecipitur ut in eorum grangiis, nec cervisia nec aliquis potus praeter aquam simplicem bibatur; quamdiu id non fuerit observatum, nullus, ubi hoc factum fuerit, conversus interim recipiatur."

shire.⁵² One night in the infirmary, a lay brother, who had evidently made his plans with his confreres, seriously wounded (stabbed?) Abbot Reginald.⁵³ Therefore, the general chapter detailed a thorough procedure of punishment,⁵⁴ and, in the next statute, ordered that the estate which the earl of Leicester had donated for providing the *conversi* with beer be used no longer for that purpose, but that it either be used for some other useful end or returned to the earl.⁵⁵ The concern of the abbots at Cîteaux for this particular grange would be almost inexplicable if beer was not connected with the revolt.⁵⁶ The abbot must have tried to enforce the statutes concerning this beverage.

The pertinent legislation over a period of time suggests that the drinking of wine and beer led not only to violations of the *Usus* but also to other excesses, which made the retention of the prohibitions all the more necessary for the preservation of monastic discipline. But in spite of the dangers resulting from the use and abuse of wine and beer on the granges—and also from prohibiting their use—the early prohibitions were discarded before the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1196, the limiting of *conversi* to one cooked food at granges where offenses in regard to liquor were committed was insisted upon.⁵⁷ In the following years, reminders were given whenever there was evidence that the lay brothers were not easily weaned.⁵⁸ A major

⁵² Snape, in treating this incident along with a few others, refers to Garendon as a foreign or continental Cistercian house (*English Monastic Finances*, p. 10). A. Hamilton Thompson, in his review of the book, observed this and many other mistakes (*EHR*, 43 [1928], 257–259).

⁵³ Knowles errs in saying that the crime occurred in the dormitory (*Monastic Order*, p. 657). *Annales de Margam*, s. a. 1196, *Annales monastici*, Vol. 1, p. 23: “. . . Reginaldo, Gereldoniae abbate, a quodam converso suo graviter in infirmatorio vulnerato, aliis conversis consentientibus, jussum est in generali capitulo Cistercii omnes conversos ejusdem loci amoveri.” *Annales de Waverleia*, s. a. 1196, *Annales monastici*, Vol. 2, p. 250: “. . . Reginaldus abbas Geroldoniae graviter vulneratus est in infirmatorio suo nocte, propter quod jussum est per generale capitulum Cistercii, ut omnes conversi ejusdem loci dispergerentur.”

⁵⁴ *C*, 1: 202 (1196), 24.

⁵⁵ *C*, 1: 202 (1196), 25: “Grangia quae data est a comite pro cervisia conversis facienda in eos usus de cetero non expendatur; sed in alias utilitates monasterii deputetur, aut comes eam recipiat.”

⁵⁶ Knowles simply points out that at the same time “. . . the occasion was taken . . . for animadverting upon the earl's gift” (*Monastic Order*, p. 657).

⁵⁷ *C*, 1: 207 (1196), 51: “De duobus pulmentis non habendis ubi vinum bibitur in grangiis nihil novum statuimus.” See note 49 above.

⁵⁸ *C*, 1: 240 (1199), 39; 273 (1201), 48; 276 (1202), 10. The latter statute (of 1202) was directed against the abbot and *conversi* of Vallis-Sanctae-Marie. In 1209 they were punished again for the drinking of wine on the granges “in scandalum Ordinis et monasteriorum totius vicinae” (*C*, 1: 360 [1209], 19). There were three abbeys by the same name—Notre-Dame du Val in the diocese of Paris, Marienthal in the diocese of Halberstadt, and Crokesden in the diocese of Lincoln. Since one would expect to find beer in use at the latter abbey, the censured house must have been either of the first two. Two other statutes in this period are of interest. *C*, 1: 312 (1205), 21: “Abbas de Fonte Ioannis qui . . . vinum prope abbatiam ad brocam vendi sustinuit, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua. Et ut

breach in the prohibitions was made in 1237, when the general chapter forbade the use of wine and intoxicating drinks only during the period from the first Sunday of Advent until Easter Sunday.⁵⁹ Finally, in the following year, because of serious disturbances, even this attempt to set some limit to what had become an "ancient custom" failed, for the drinking of liquor on agricultural estates was permitted where it had been allowed usually by the custom of the abbey. The last disciplinary measure that was provided, at the same time, forbade the acceptance of lay brothers for five years—and thereafter admissions were to be allowed only with the consent of the general chapter—in those houses where there had been notable opposition to the statute of the previous year.⁶⁰ Thus was a disturbing issue discreetly laid to rest. It was one which played no small part in the disregard by *conversi* of the vow of obedience and of the various rules of monastic life.

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As the general chapter frankly admitted in 1267, the reputation of the Order was enormously damaged by such outbursts as we have thus far considered.⁶¹ In 1195, the abbots felt it necessary to prohibit the further reception of lay-brother novices in those abbeys where "conspiracies" had been organized by lay brothers; the same rule was also applied to other monastic candidates.⁶² Such legislation indicates

caveatur in posterum ne vinum vendatur ad brocam in morem saecularium, diffinitum est in Capitulo et sententia temperatur de vino vendendo ad brocam, ut tantum in villis, et nisi per saecularem personam vendatur"; see note 36 above. *C*, 1: 346 (1208), 3: "Monachi vel conversi in via directi, vasa vinaria non portent, nec vinum bibant in grangiis, nisi praesente abbate, in illis provinciis in quibus conversi vinum bibere a Capitulo prohibentur."

⁵⁹ *C*, 2: 153 (1236), 4: "Conversi qui iuxta abbatiam in domibus habitantes laborant, iuxta pristinam consuetudinem in ipsis domibus comedant, nec abbatibus id liceat immutare; extra monasteria vero ibi commorantur, vinum, cervisiam vel siceram non bibentes observent consueta ieiunia monachorum." *C*, 2: 169 (1237), 6: "Sententia anno praeterito lata de ieiunio conversorum et de abstinencia vini, ita temperatur ut a prima dominica Adventus Domini usque ad Pascha a modo plenarie observetur." At the same time, it was decreed that those abbots who had neglected to enforce the reminder of 1236 were still to do penance (*C*, 2: 169 [1237], 2).

⁶⁰ *C*, 2: 186 (1238), 5: "Sententia de ieiunio conversorum et abstinencia vini in locis illis, in quibus de consuetudine antiqua vino uti consueverant prius edita, ex causis rationabilibus dispensative relaxatur, ita tamen quod in omnibus domibus, in quibus occasione dictae sententiae sunt conspirationes vel scandala notabilia, nullus recipiatur in conversum usque ad quinquennium, nec deinceps absque nutu Capituli generalis."

⁶¹ *C*, 3: 51 (1267), 21: "... cum per frequentes conspiratorum nequitias Ordinis fama laedatur enormiter . . ."

⁶² *C*, 1: 185 (1195), 20: "In domo ubi orta fuerit conspiratio [per conversos: ms. H; conversorum: ms. P4], conversi novitii deinceps non recipiantur usque ad nutum Capituli generalis. Hoc ipsum et de monachis constituitur, nisi forte talis persona fuerit unde scandalum oriatur et damnum; et hoc cum factum fuerit, illi de quatuor primis abbatibus nuncietur de cuius derivatione domus illa fuerit."

the necessity of dealing with an unusual number of revolts or disturbing incidents. Those caused by lay brothers at Cwmhir (1195), Garendon (1196), and Margam (1206) have been considered.

In several instances, *conversi* subjected other religious to almost savage violence.⁶³ At Fontfroide in Languedoc (1212), they exposed a lay brother to death at the hands of lay persons.⁶⁴ In the next year, at Pilis in Hungary, they buried a *conversus* alive,⁶⁵ and the abbot of Szent-Gotthárd, who had some claim to experience,⁶⁶ was sent with others to investigate. Much later (1272), some lay brothers from Saint-Jean d'Aulps mutilated a monk and then took to flight.⁶⁷ Three years afterwards, at Zwettl in Austria, *conversi* cut off the nose of a monk.⁶⁸

Then again, certain abbeys were particularly unfortunate with their lay brothers. One was Eberbach, an earlier prior of which consulted St. Hildegard of Bingen.⁶⁹ A revolt occurred there some time before 1208, for Caesarius of Heisterbach, in telling of the encounter of Abbot William, a monk, and a lay brother of Saint-Agatha (or Hocht) with the devil, relates the following dialogue:

Then the devil said to the abbot, "Where are you going?" The abbot answered, "To Eberbach"; to which the former answered, ironically alluding to the name, "Indeed, I was at Sueverbach and deceived well enough there." For it was after the time when the *conversi* ranged themselves in opposition to the Order.⁷⁰

⁶³ At times, too, *conversi* were submitted to extreme disciplinary measures, such as bloody beatings, by abbots and monks, though such incidents were comparable neither in number nor in violence with lay-brother outrages. See *C*, 1: 329 (1206), 50; 349 (1208), 20; 359 (1209), 14; 408-409 (1213), 20; 2: 50-51 (1226), 16; 71 (1228), 28; 229 (1240), 68; 374 (1251), 72.

⁶⁴ *C*, 1: 401 (1212), 52; 406 (1213), 9. The lack of details concerning the danger to the lay brother is tantalizing, but one becomes accustomed to it in the statutes. The possibilities are innumerable. Consider, for example, the following misfortunes visited upon Margam and Neath in south Wales: "Occiderunt Walenses famulos nostros, in operibus manuum suarum occupatos duos in una die, et postea cito puerum quendam pastorem ovium occiderunt. Eodem anno Morganus filius Oeni combussit domus monachorum de Neth cum ovibus cccc. vel et amplius; insuper et famulos ipsorum numero iv. occidit; monachum quoque unum de domo illa, necnon et conversum, graviter vulneravit" (*Annales de Margam*, s. a. 1224, *Annales monastici*, Vol. 1, p. 34). There is also the story of the hanging by a local knight, in the time of King Philip II of France, of "quemdam conversum de Priulli, qui forestam monachorum custodiebat" (Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Radulphi de Coggeshall chronicon Anglicanum* [London, 1875], pp. 199-200).

⁶⁵ *C*, 1: 413 (1213), 46.

⁶⁶ In 1195 the lay brothers of St. Gotthardus fell upon a certain monk with such fury that the guilty ones were ordered expelled forthwith from the abbey and from Hungary. *C*, 1: 194 (1195), 79.

⁶⁷ *C*, 3: 105 (1272), 7.

⁶⁸ *C*, 3: 145 (1275), 24.

⁶⁹ See above p. 26.

⁷⁰ *Dial. mirac.*, dist. V, c. 29 (Vol. 1, pp. 314-315): "Tunc diabolus dixit Abbati: Quo iturus es modo? Respondente Abbate, Eberbachum; subiunxit ille: Ego etiam in Sueverbacho fui, et satis ibi tru favi, yronice nomini alludens. Erat enim

About 1238, a *conversus* of the abbey attacked and mutilated the abbot, and some of his accomplices fled rather than be cast into prison.⁷¹ Shortly past the middle of the century, Eberbach suffered again through a series of disturbances caused by lay brothers, which culminated about 1261 in the murder of the abbot by a lay brother. The policy of expulsion and limitation of numbers was then applied by the general chapter.⁷²

Another German abbey, Schoenau, which was a neighboring daughter-house of Eberbach, also had distasteful experiences. Repeated commotions caused by the cellarer and two *conversi* are referred to in a statute of 1202.⁷³ But complete information concerning an earlier revolt about 1168 is provided by the *Exordium magnum*.⁷⁴ From this incident one secures an insight into how a revolt could begin and how a wise abbot could avert bedlam. The disturbance is of special interest because it is the first in the Order about which we have specific information. Godfrey, the new abbot, attempted to abolish a practice that had been tolerated previously, and indiscreetly, among the lay brothers, namely, that of allowing lay brothers to receive an annual allotment of *botae* (boots for use in the abbey) when the

illa tempora, quando conversi se ordini opposuerant." The exact dates of the abbatial rule of William of Hocht are not known. *Gallia* (t. 3, col. 1024) gives 1212, though *ca.* 1208 seems more probable since Charles de Seyne was abbot during 1209–1212 (Louis Baron de Crassier, "Histoire de la noble abbaye cistercienne de Sainte Agathe à Hocht," *Publications de la société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 62 [6th s., 7, 1926], 59). The history of the short-lived monastery of Hocht (1180–1216?) offers several problems. See also Joseph-Marie Canivez, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique des origines (1132) au XX^me siècle, Aperçu d'histoire monastique* (Forges-les-Chimay, Belgium, 1926), pp. 257–260.

⁷¹ C, 2: 195 (1238), 52; 233 (1241), 19.

⁷² C, 2: 482 (1261), 32: "Cum ad aures Capituli generalis gravis querimonia sit delata, quod in domo de Everbach per conversos multa sint enormia perpetrata, et maxime his diebus quidam conversus praedictae domus manibus sacrilegis abbatem suum interfecerit . . ." On the reception of *conversi* later, see C, 3: 76 (1269), 42; 135 (1274), 44. In 1269, the new abbot requested the general chapter's permission to receive lay brothers, which was granted to the number of twenty. The abbot asked leave again in 1274 and received permission to recruit ten additional *conversi* until the official visitor arrived, whereupon the latter would determine the number of brothers that should be accepted according to the needs of the house.

⁷³ C, 1: 283 (1202), 46.

⁷⁴ *Exord. magnum*, dist. V, c. 10 (PL, 185 II: 1140–1144). The *Exordium magnum* was written by Conrad, monk of Clairvaux and later abbot of Eberbach, and probably begun at Clairvaux—a little of it being written before 1186—and completed at Eberbach *ca.* 1206–1221. See Williams, *Monastic Studies*, pp. 52–60, and E. Vacandard, "L'Histoire de saint Bernard, critique des sources," *Revue des questions historiques*, 43 (1888), 383–386.

The abbot whose new regime angered the *conversi* assumed office in 1168 (*Gallia*, t. 5, col. 712). Since no statutes are extant for the years 1162–1173 (C, 1: 73–81), the *Exordium magnum* is our only source of information concerning this disturbance.

monks received theirs.⁷⁵ Within a short time, the whispering in corners developed into a conspiracy through the instigation of the lay brother who had charge of the monks' boots. The conspirator—"non conversus, sed perversus"⁷⁶—planned that when all had returned from the granges for the vigil of Christmas, they should go to the monks' dormitory, take the boots from each bed, and cut and tear them to pieces. But the abbot, posted on what was transpiring, threatened the lay brothers, in their chapter, with the punishment of God. Then, on the evening of the day preceding the vigil of Christmas, as he was coming down from the dormitory after compline, the conspirator collapsed and died in the arms of his co-conspirator, the infirmarian of the *conversi*. Calling all together, the abbot declared that the body of the deceased should not be buried in the common cemetery, but, yielding to the entreaties of the lay brothers in order to avoid any further trouble, he relented. A greater scandal was probably averted by this decision. In ending his account, the author of the *Exordium magnum* expressed the belief that Schoenau was fortunate in comparison with Eberbach, where the *conversi* later demanded boots and caused such scandals "that it were better to lament than to explain them."⁷⁷ This reference probably pertains to the revolt mentioned by Caesarius of Heisterbach.

The Cistercians in Flanders, too, had their troubles, as several outbursts attest. About 1223, the *conversi* of Ter Doest, near Bruges, were involved in a conspiracy. In providing a remedy, the general chapter took the occasion to call attention to the extreme presumptuousness of lay brothers in that region and urged the abbot of Les-Dunes to deal with it.⁷⁸ Three years later, at Baudeloo, near Ghent, a lay brother killed the abbot.⁷⁹ The author of the *Annals of Waverley* was sufficiently impressed by the outrage to repeat the decision of the general chapter almost verbatim in his compilation.⁸⁰

The pride and arrogance of the *conversi* is also well illustrated by the account concerning lay brothers contained in the *Chronicle* of the

⁷⁵ Cf. *Usus conv.*, c. 19 (Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 287); and *C*, 1: 186 (1195), 31, 32. The last two statutes indicate that in many cases abbots did not observe the *Usus conv.*

⁷⁶ *PL*, 185 II: 1141.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1144.

⁷⁸ *C*, 2: 28 (1223), 25: "Abbas de Dunis qui conspiracy in filia [*i. e.*, abbacia de Thosan] neglexit digne corrigere, sex diebus sit in levi culpa . . .; et infra festum Omnium Sanctorum sic corrigat, ut conversi qui in terra illa nimis sunt praesumptuosi, inflictis sibi poenitentia, a consimilibus terreantur."

⁷⁹ *C*, 2: 52-53 (1226), 23: "Auctoritate Capituli generalis statuitur ut conversi de Bondelo quorum unus, instigante diabolo, abbatem proprium interfecit propter quod ab eadem domo omnes merito sunt eieci, de cetero minime revocentur, et domus ipsa quinque conversorum numero in perpetuum sit contenta." The quota of lay brothers was increased to ten in 1230 (*C*, 2: 91 [1230], 36) and to fifteen in 1236 (*C*, 2: 159 [1236], 32).

⁸⁰ *Annales de Waverleia*, s. a. 1226, *Annales monastici*, Vol. 2, p. 301.

abbey of Meaux, in Yorkshire. As Bond pointed out, lay brothers were probably serving as supervisors of granges and farms at the time.⁸¹ In order to humiliate them, Abbot Richard of Ottringham (1221–1235), about 1230, found it necessary to make artisans of them all.⁸² This punishment is an important indication of the change in the status of lay brothers, for assignment to the tasks of an artisan would certainly not have implied loss of caste one hundred years earlier. Similarly indicative of arrogance was the action of two *conversi* at Fontenay (1233), in the diocese of Dijon. These brothers incited the servants on one of the granges to take up arms against some abbots and their servants, who were on their way to general chapter, and to drive them from the grange while other *conversi* bystanders watched the hurly-burly.⁸³ Also pertinent are two attempts to influence elections. At Sobrado, near Compostella, in 1243, the lay brothers forced their way into chapter during an election;⁸⁴ and at Nepomuk, near Prague, in the same year, three monks, leading a “raging” band of *conversi*, intimidated the abbot to resign, forced their candidate upon the as-

⁸¹ E. A. Bond (ed.), *Chronicon monasterii de Melsa a fundatione usque ad annum 1396* (3 vols., London, 1866–1868), Vol. 3, pp. xlii–xliii; see also, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. xli.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 432–433: “Interim vero, dictus Ricardus abbas noster 7 incepit aliquantulum perpendere versutias conversorum nostrorum, et, ipsorum proterviam temperare satagens, ipsos officiis servientium deputavit, et eos custodiis porcorum animalium, et operibus carucariis tradens, et alia hujusmodi opera subire coegit. Alios vero eorum latomos, alios carpentarios, alios vitrifices, atque alios plumbarios et caetera hujusmodi ordinabat, a custodia locorum et grangiarum ipsos penitus absolvendo.” The lay brothers, however, were still troublesome, for during the regime of the next abbot, Michael, they compelled a neighboring landowner to sell his estates (“ . . . propter importunitatem et proterviam conversorum nostrorum . . .”; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 4; Vol. 3, p. xliii). Bond suggests that “the difficulty of duly controlling them may have led to their number being reduced” (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. xliii). Just before the Black Death, there were forty-three monks (including the abbot) and seven *conversi*. Then, the abbot, twenty-two monks, and six lay brothers died in one month of the pestilence, and, when it was over, but ten monks and not one lay brother remained (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 36–37). During the rule of Abbot William of Scarborough (1372–1396), the chronicler states, there were no *conversi* at the abbey (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 229). But it is the opinion of Bond that they were still acting as bailiffs and laborers on the granges (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. xliii). For the same period, mention is also made of one lay brother who accompanied a monk to Rome (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 190–191, n. 7).

⁸³ *C*, 2: 125 (1233), 67: “Propter excessum qui factus fuit in grangia Fontineti quae dicitur Fons siccus contra abbates et servientes eorum, duo conversi qui culpabiliores fuisse dicuntur, videlicet hospitalis et alius qui servientes grangiae armatos ad hoc malum, ut dicitur, instigavit, ad domos valde remotas mittantur . . . ; ceteri conversi qui praesentes fuerint omni sexta feria usque ad Pascha sint in pane et aqua, remansuri tamen in grangia si suus abbas viderit expedire; omnes vero servientes grangiae supradictae, qui praesentes erant in illa grangia illa die, a domo Fontineti et ab omnibus domibus eiusdem et operibus expellantur, nec in aliqua domo nostri Ordinis habeant, postquam cogniti fuerint, refugium vel iuvamen.” For further comment, see pp. 79–80, at end of Appendix.

⁸⁴ *C*, 2: 265 (1243), 31: “Conversi de Superaddo qui temere se ingerendo in electione intraverunt in capitulum . . .”

sembled monks, and compelled the official visitors to accede to the irregularity.⁸⁵

There were three other revolts which were symptomatic of violent disaffection among the lay brothers—at Heilsbronn in Bavaria (1246), where a lay brother, with *conversi* accomplices, stabbed the abbot and killed the monk who went to his rescue;⁸⁶ at Ripalta in Piedmont (1267), where lay brothers killed the cellarer;⁸⁷ and at Amelunxborn in the diocese of Hildesheim (1272). At the latter monastery, the abbot and monks, after the *conversi* had threatened to kill or mutilate them, escaped through the rear door of the infirmary and took refuge in the town.⁸⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that the general chapter, in 1272, should take cognizance of the problem by stating that “frequent and continuous and entirely disgusting complaints have come to the ears of the general chapter over the outrages of the *conversi*, in many abbeys of the Order, committed against abbots and convents of monks.”⁸⁹ But perhaps the most enlightening of all the outrages committed by lay brothers was that incited by Brother Guillaume de Saeftingen at Ter Doest in the autumn of 1308. Since this noteworthy incident and part of the cause of it can be understood only in the light of the changing economic policies of the Order of Cîteaux, some attention may be given them.

⁸⁵ C, 2: 273–274 (1243), 70: “Abbas de Pomoc qui non fuit regulariter electus, sed violenter intrusus, nam tres monachi cum magna multitudine conversorum furibunde discurrentes cum armis, tam praedecessori suo quam visitatoribus metum mortis incurrerunt, propter quod et ipse praedecessor cessit, et visitatores ipsius cessionem recipere consenserunt, nullam viam aliam inveniētes mortis periculum evadendi, . . . deponitur in instanti . . .”

⁸⁶ C, 2: 307 (1246), 31: “De converso de Aspurin qui abbatem suum fuste vulneravit in capite, et cultello in dorso et brachio in tantum percussit, quod inutilem reddidit, et monachum se pro abbate opponentem cultello interfecit . . . Praeterea propter insolentiam huiusmodi conversorum statuit et ordinat Capitulum generale quod a modo in eadem domo omnino conversi non recipiantur . . .”

⁸⁷ C, 3: 54 (1267), 47; 58–59 (1268), 1: “Cum ad intolerabiles et graves excessus quorundam monachorum et conversorum de Ripalta, Terdonensis dioecesis, corrigendos . . . De conversis vero qui manus sacrilegas in cellarium suum ipsum occidendo miserunt . . .”

⁸⁸ C, 3: 104 (1272), 5: “. . . et [cum] ad praesens maxime in domo Auulnebach, conversi dictae domus abbatem et conventum . . . volentes, prout dicitur, occidere seu mutilare, poenae metu seu mortis dictus abbas cum conventu exeuntes ab abbazia per posticum infirmitorii in quodam oppido se recepissent, et sic conversorum non cessat adhuc insania, praefatus casus vel excessus recens et enormis expulsionis . . . venerabili de Morimundo et de Campo . . . abbatibus committitur . . .” In 1279, the request of the abbot for permission to receive lay brothers was granted (C, 3: 192 [1279], 64).

⁸⁹ C, 3: 104 (1272), 5: “Cum frequens et assidua et omnino taediosa querela ad aures Capituli generalis devenerit super excessibus conversorum in multis abbatibus Ordinis contra abbates et conventus monachorum . . .”

CHANGING ECONOMIC POLICIES

THE CISTERCIANS were eminently successful during the twelfth century. From the first four daughter-abbeyes of Cîteaux—La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115) and Morimond (1115)—the Order had a posterity of no less than 530 monasteryes by the end of the century.¹ The example of austerity given by the early fathers brought gifts of land, and, before long, even possessions forbidden by their customs, for greed frequently hovers around the corner of prosperity.² The “vice of avarice” was laid at their door by Abbot Stephen of Sainte-Geneviève at Paris, about 1190,³ and by King Richard I of England in 1197.⁴ In fact, during the second half of the twelfth century, many diocesan officials and abbots of other orders resented Cistercian expansionist tendencies, their privileges, and particularly their exemption from payment of tithes. Both Pope Alexander III and Pope Innocent III sharply cautioned the Order.⁵

Some Cistercians called their covetousness foresight,⁶ since they

¹ Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique*, p. 239. By the time of St. Bernard's death (1153), the houses founded by Clairvaux numbered sixty-eight; those in the line of Clairvaux, 159; and those in the entire Order, 339 (Williams, *Saint Bernard*, pp. 92–95). The last figure is given as 343 in Leopold Janauschek's estimate (*Originum Cisterciensium tomus I* [Vienna, 1877], p. v).

² The conclusion of Knowles is pertinent: “Thus by the end of the twelfth century an atmosphere of commerce and litigation was beginning to surround the white monks in England. As will be seen elsewhere, there is some reason to think that in this respect the Cistercians of this country were among the first to lose the original purity of their order” (*Monastic Order*, p. 356).

³ *PL*, 211: 351: “Credo, Pater, quia Cistercienses de numero sunt eorum qui violenti diripiunt coelum sed utrum violenter eis terram rapere liceat, nondum legi.” Stephen was complaining against Longpont to Archbishop William of Rheims. But the action of the abbey of Longpont may not have been one of clear usurpation (see *PL*, 211: 350–353, n. 89).

⁴ The hermit Fulk of Neuilly told Richard to get husbands for his daughters Pride, Greed, and Luxury. Richard replied tellingly: “Do igitur meam superbiam superbis Templariis, et cupiditatem meam monachis de ordine Cisterciensi, et luxuriam meam praelatis ecclesiarum.” See H. R. Luard (ed.), *Flores historiarum* (3 vols., London, 1890), Vol. 3, pp. 116–117; William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* (4 vols., London, 1868–1871), Vol. 4, pp. 76–77.

⁵ See below, pp. 47–48.

⁶ *Dial. mirac.*, dist. IV, c. 57 (Vol. 1, p. 224). Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville and Pigeotte, *Etudes*, p. 310 (caustic in speaking of the Order during the late thirteenth century); G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. 1, *St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000–1200 A.D.* (Cambridge, England, 1929), pp. 386–397 (very

could not disown such a striking characteristic of the Order. The general chapter, though, in a statute of 1191, frankly recognized the need for curbing the Order's acquisitive policies.⁷ The monks became influential wool-traders in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, competing so advantageously with secular merchants that bitter criticism was voiced in poetry and official petitions. The *conversi*, being the special agents in such missions of trade, were reviled—in one instance as buffoons.⁸

In Germany, from a few early foundations, the Order spread across the land to the northeast and the southeast. From Ebrach (1128)⁹ and Heiligenkreuz (1136) they organized monastic settlements in southern Germany. From Altencamp (1123) and Altenberg (before 1137), both on the Rhine near Cologne, they founded daughter-houses in mid-Germany, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, and the Baltic country.¹⁰ Most of the monasteries to the west of the Elbe had been founded before 1150; thereafter, the region between the Elbe and the Oder was settled, for the most part during the thirteenth century. But even in the twelfth century there were such outposts from the Oder eastward as Wögnitz (1143), Lad (1146), Leubus (1163),

critical of the Cistercians); Ailbe J. Luddy, *The Order of Cîteaux* (Dublin, 1932), p. 32 (critical of Coulton).

⁷ C, 1: 117–118 (1190), 1: "Primo ad temperandum cupiditatem et notam semper acquirendi qui impetitur, repellendam proposuimus firmiter tenendum ab omnibus ut a sequenti Capitulo et deinceps et perpetuum ab omni emptione terrarum et quarumcumque possessionum immobilium abstineamus . . ." See also C, 1: 142 (1191), 42; and note 21, below.

⁸ R. J. Whitwell, "English Monasteries and the Wool Trade in the 13th Century," *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 2 (1904), 1–33, with special emphasis on the Cistercians and Meaux; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, England, 1948), Vol. 1, pp. 64–77. For complaints against the Order in Lincolnshire in 1262, see Whitwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10, and Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 33–34, 43, 45, 46). See also F. A. Mullin, *A History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire (1131–1300)* (Washington, D.C., 1932), pp. 36–65; and Wilhelm Meyer, "Zwei Gedichte zur Geschichte des Cistercienser Ordens," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1908*, pp. 402–405, for the amusing satire entitled *De mutatione mala ordinis Cistercii*, written by an unknown English poet at the end of the thirteenth century and directed against the commercial activity of the Cistercians, especially their wool trade (*ibid.*, pp. 396–402).

Lay brothers are usually mentioned in the statutes in connection with commercial transactions. One *conversus* was evidently nicknamed the "*mercator*" (C, 1: 187 [1195], 34). Many of the statutes were aimed at maintaining honesty in buying and selling, and the general chapter made a determined effort to secure adherence to them. However, the situation indicated by the following statute would certainly give cause for secular dissatisfaction: "De conversis de Anglia qui lanas dicuntur emere ut carius vendant, committitur abbatibus de Fontanis et de Blanca landa . . ." (C, 1: 426 [1214], 45).

⁹ Not to be confused with Eberbach, mentioned several times in respect of its troublesome *conversi*.

¹⁰ See the useful map in Rudolf Kötzschke and Wolfgang Ebert, *Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 218 (and the explanation on p. 237).

Colbatz (1175), and Oliva (1186). This expansion, the history of which was written by Franz Winter,¹¹ was part of the vast movement of agricultural recovery through the improved methods employed by German peasants. Local lords, bishops, and religious orders directed the project that gradually brought eastern Europe within the orbit of western medieval civilization.

As the Cistercians moved eastward, in Thuringia for example, they helped to create meadows out of marshes and swamps.¹² Although the varied activities of the *conversi* were generally the key to the Order's success in establishing monasteries and laying a secure economic basis for contemplative life,¹³ it does not necessarily follow that the Cistercians were better equipped than any other monastic order to introduce civilization and culture in the frontier country of eastern Germany.¹⁴ On the contrary, the economic equipment of the Order, that is, the lay-brother system, could not be used in many parts of the east-German area, for the Cistercians held too much land and experienced serious difficulty in securing *conversi* there. Excellent op-

¹¹ *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands, Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Culturgeschichte des deutschen Mittelalters* (3 vols., Gotha, 1868-1871). Also valuable is his study, *Die Prämonstratenser des zwölften Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für das nordöstliche Deutschland, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Christianisirung und Germanisirung des Wendenlandes* (Berlin, 1865). J. W. Thompson made extensive use of the former work in his article, "The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Mediaeval Germany," *American Journal of Theology*, 24 (1920), 67-93. Hermann Aubin has a very useful introduction to the general history of the East-German colonization movement: "Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zur ostdeutschen Kolonisation," *Aus Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Gedachtnisschrift für Georg von Below* (Stuttgart, 1928), pp. 169-196. See also his section, "The Lands East of the Elbe and German Colonization Eastwards," in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 1, pp. 361-397; J. W. Thompson, "East German Colonization in the Middle Ages," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1915* (Washington, D.C., 1917), pp. 125-150 (actually treating the settlement of the lower Elbe basin from the eighth to the twelfth centuries); and the survey by the same author in his *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 387-658. Two other brief studies deserve mention: Hanno Svoboda, *Die Klosterwirtschaft der Cistercienser in Ostdeutschland* (Nürnberg, 1930), a convenient medley of borrowings from several monographs to illustrate his subject in regard to the monasteries of Chorin, Dargun, Doberan, Dobrilugk, Lehnin, Leubus, Waldsassen, and Zinna; Hans Muggenthaler, *Kolonisatorische und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit eines deutschen Zisterzienserklsters im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1924), which is an excellent little analysis (179 pp.) of Waldsassen from Ms. materials.

¹² Richard Sebicht, "Die Cistercienser und die niederländischen Kolonisten in der goldenen Aue (Im XII. Jahrhundert)," *Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 21 (1888), 1-74.

¹³ Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, p. 96.

¹⁴ Thus, a qualification is offered to Hoffmann's statement, "dass er wie kein anderer Orden geeignet was, Kultur und Zivilisation in die ostlichen Grenzmarken Deutschlands hineinzutragen" (*ibid.*, p. 69). In his later article, Hoffmann observed that he was fully aware of the different set of economic principles employed by the Cistercians in their movement beyond the Elbe and the Oder (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 [1910], 700).

portunities were offered to peasants in that region; lands were rented to them on terms involving ten- or twelve-year leases securing holders against all liabilities.¹⁵ The abbey of Leubus, for example, could not conform to the Cistercian statutes which prohibited the renting of land to peasants. Its so-called charter of foundation (1175), issued by the Duke of Silesia, indicates that *coloni* were given land and that the material resources of the monastery included churches, *villae*, and rents.¹⁶ Furthermore, it has been estimated that in the period 1203-1239 the abbey acquired 950,000 acres.¹⁷ As the result of this control of a vast area, lay brothers and hired hands were not enough. Sharecropping and leasing were the logical consequence.

In the period down to 1208, however, refusing to relax the prohibitions of the earlier statutes, the general chapter made no provision for this eventuality. This decision was made in spite of the fact that there were many violations in eastern Germany and in western Europe, too, as statutes of 1157 indicate.¹⁸ Only from the year 1208

¹⁵ Aubin, in *Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. 1, pp. 378-382.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 386. For the charter, see, among others, Rudolf Kötzschke (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), pp. 54-56, no. 35: "Quicumque vero Theonici possessiones monasterii coluerint vel super eas habitaverint per abbatem in eis collocati ab omni iure Polonico sine exceptione sint in perpetuum liberi. Si qui autem Poloni non pertinentes ad alicuius dominium fuerint abbatis coloni, non cogantur alii cuiquam aliquid solvere vel servicium aliquod exhibere. . . . Iam vero subicitur possessionis descriptio: Lubens et attinentię eius et termini circa Oderam, videlicet ecclesia b. Hiohannis evangelistę, forum cum omni utilitate . . ." See also the charter of protection issued for Dargun in 1174 by Duke Kasimir of Pomerania: ". . . prefatis fratribus de Dargon dedimus liberam potestatem et perfectam libertatem vocandi ad se et collocandi, ubique voluerint, in possessione prefate ecclesie de Dargon Teutonicos, Danos, Slavos vel cuiuscunque gentis et cuiuscunque artis homines et ipsas artes exercendi et parrochias et presbyteros constituendi necnon et tabernam habendi . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 54, no. 34).

¹⁷ Walter Thoma, *Die colonisatorische Tätigkeit des Klosters Leubus im 12. u. 13. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 87. Pp. 88-137 contain an analysis of the monastic possessions which indicates that the abbey did not differ from a Benedictine house in respect of secular entanglements. See also Franciscus Hanus, *Die aeltere Geschichte der Zisterzienser-Abtei Leubus in Schlesien bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau [printed in Illinois], 1947), pp. 18-21, 105-113 (on economic development and granges).

¹⁸ *C*, 1: 64 (1157), 36: "Molendinos vel ceteras possessiones quas secundum ordinem tenere non licet, alicui personae concedi in vita sua, ut ad monasterium denuo revertantur, omnino non licet quia non est hoc alienare a se possessionem, sed locare." Evidently, many abbots employed the deceitful method of buying or accepting possessions forbidden to the abbey and then granting them to laymen on condition that title to such lands, mills, or rents revert to the monasteries upon the death of the lay holder, and so on again. Still other abbots, with an eye only for the interests of their houses, accepted prohibited offerings and continued to employ Benedictine methods without approval, or sought dispensations from Rome. Cf. Hoffmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 707, 721-722.

As Hoffmann also pointed out (*ibid.*), the first relaxation in the economic principles of the Order was also permitted in 1157, for the general chapter stated that abbeys which had been united recently with the Order and which, before incorpora-

onward can one trace the official development of the new method, that of leasing land, in preference to Cistercian exclusive cultivation. In 1208 the abbots gathered at Cîteaux permitted monasteries possessing lands which were less useful or too distant for advantageous cultivation to give them in metayage.¹⁹ The fathers of the Order, loath to see the old practices cast into the discard, still demanded a strict accounting in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the statute of 1208.²⁰

In 1214, the general chapter renewed earlier prohibitions against buying or otherwise acquiring lands, vineyards, ovens, or mills, unless they were received as pure gift, and stipulated that, even in the latter case, the lands or other possessions were to be either sold or granted to others for cultivation.²¹ This decision was, as will be explained

tion, had acquired unnecessary mills were permitted to retain them, but were required to give up such mills if they were acquired after incorporation. The same rule applied to fulling mills (*C*, 1: 67 [1157], 59). It should be noticed that such monasteries as are here considered must have been a powerful lever for the overthrow of the economic policies of the Order, since it was difficult, if not impossible, for them to revamp completely their financial methods.

Consider, for example, the effect of the Order of Savigny, united with the Cistercian Order in 1147. It consisted of thirty-two abbeys in Normandy, France, Brittany, England, and Wales; three of these were nunneries. Even after incorporation, the abbeys continued to follow certain practices prohibited by the *Statuta*. They retained their former possessions—churches, manors, mills, tithes pertaining to churches—and acquired additional resources of the same kind as well as infeudated tithes. They continued to rent part of their lands long before the Cistercians authorized such a practice. It has even been concluded that “Cîteaux à qui cela était primitivement interdit se met peu à peu à acquérir des dîmes sans doute sous l’influence de Savigny.” See Jacqueline Buhot, “L’Abbaye normande de Savigny, chef d’Ordre et fille de Cîteaux,” *Le Moyen âge*, 46 (3rd s., 7, 1936), 260 (and pp. 249–272 on the particularism of Savigny in the Cistercian Order).

¹⁹ *C*, 1: 346 (1208), 5: “De terris qui minus utiles fuerint aut sic remotae quod utiliter excoli non possint, sic dispensat Capitulum generale, ut liceat iis qui tales habuerint dare ad medietatem vel aliter prout poterunt competenter.” This presupposes that many abbeys had acquired lands, organized into granges, which were located at a greater distance from the abbey than the statutes permitted, namely, beyond a *dieta*, or day’s journey (*C*, 1: 14 [1134, I], 5). Cf. Hoffmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 719, n. 3.

²⁰ In 1212, an investigation was ordered in the case of the abbot of Stürzelbrunn, diocese of Metz, who was reported to have leased land considered useless, contrary to the advice of the father-abbot of Mazières, near Dijon (*C*, 1: 391–392 [1212], 12).

²¹ *C*, 1: 427–428 (1214), 54: “. . . statutum est . . . ut nullus audeat deinceps terras, vineas, furnos vel molendina emere vel acquirere, nisi in puram eleemosynam et solemnem donationem nobis donata fuerint; quas tamen propriis sumptibus aut manibus non excolamus, sed aliis vendamus, vel excolendas tradamus.” This prohibition against new acquisitions must also be considered in the light of earlier statutes which attempted to prevent excessive debt and hasty expansion. In 1152, the construction of new abbeys was prohibited (*C*, 1:45 [1152], 1), though the statute, obviously, was not observed rigorously by the general chapter. The prohibitions, exceptions, and specific relaxations in the matter of buying land or constructing buildings may be found in *C*, 1: 90–91 (1182), 9: 109–110 (1188), 10: 117–118 (1190), 1: 142 (1191), 42, 43, 90; 147 (1192), 4: 306–307 (1205), 5: 321 (1206), 9.

shortly, nothing less than the new policy imposed by Pope Innocent III as a means of placating the powerful opponents of the Order's exemption from payment of tithes. In another statute of the same year, the general chapter forbade arrangements with *coloni* and the renting of pasture rights, seemingly in connection with lands previously cultivated or used by the Cistercians themselves.²² This regulation was tantamount to a reversal of the statute of 1208, though it probably was not meant to be retroactive in the case of arrangements legitimately contracted before this enactment in accordance with the earlier decision. Both statutes were repeated in 1215.²³

On the other hand, in the following year, the prohibition against purchases was withdrawn,²⁴ and another wedge was driven in since *conversi* would not suffice for the development of the landed and other resources which could now be purchased. Still, the consequence was not so easily conceded. In 1216, the general chapter refused to jettison the fundamental principle and postponed a consideration of the question of leasing land and pasture until the following year.²⁵ The abbots at Cîteaux evidently remained adamant until 1220 when they conceded the right to rent land only if the land in question was considered less useful by the senior monks and the father-abbot or visitor.²⁶ Finally, in 1224, the standard for determining the rental of land was made more flexible, for each decision was made to hinge on whether the abbot, monks, and father-abbot or visitor judged the lease expedient. At the same time, the reason for the delayed decision was revealed in the clause which provided that an agreement concerning the tithe had to be made with the tithe-owner and be approved by the diocesan bishop before land was leased.²⁷ A consider-

²² C, 1: 428-429 (1214), 58: "Constitutio de non habenda societate cum saecularibus in terris excolendis et pecoribus nutriendis firmiter in posterum teneatur; nec liceat alicui terras alienas excolere vel conducere ad excolendum." Hoffmann, using Martène and Durand's statutes, cited this statute and no. 54 as dating from 1215. This prevented him from giving a precise evaluation of the manoeuvring in the critical years 1214-1215.

²³ C, 1: 448 (1215), 64, 65.

²⁴ C, 1: 449 (1216), 2: "Sententia de non acquirendo retractatur."

²⁵ C, 1: 463 (1216), 66: "Petitio illa de terris nostris dandis colonis saecularibus, et de societate habenda cum saecularibus de animalibus nutriendis, differtur usque ad sequens Capitulum." There is no reference in the statutes to a discussion of the question in 1217. Hoffmann noted the same difficulty. Since Canivez's collection represents all available ms. materials, we may assume the absence of a record on the matter.

²⁶ C, 1: 517 (1220), 5: "De grangiis et terris minus utilibus colonis ad tempus concedendis, permittitur abbatibus ut cum consilio seniorum suorum, patrum abbatum vel visitorum, si patrum haberi non possit copia, faciant super hoc quod iussum fuerit faciendum." The question of permitting the renting of pasture seems to have been resolved in the same way, even though there is one instance of special license being sought (C, 2: 54 [1226], 30).

²⁷ C, 2: 31 (1224), 10: "Indulgetur abbatibus Ordinis nostri . . . , qui sibi crediderint expedire, dare saecularibus terras, vineas et etiam grangias, et alias

ation of Cistercian privileges in connection with the tithe will help to explain the hesitance of the general chapter in the period 1208–1224.

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The reorganization of the method of cultivating land coincided with the termination of a critical phase in the struggle between the Cistercian Order and tithe-owners.²⁸ Exemption from tithes, granted to the Order by Pope Innocent II in 1132,²⁹ eventually gave rise to much dissatisfaction among bishops and other immediate clerical possessors of tithes. The reason is to be found in the consequences of Cistercian economy. Exemption from tithes applied to lands cultivated or managed by the monks themselves and not to lands that were rented or leased. Whereas other monastic orders and congregations actually cultivated but a small amount of land “by their own hands” (*“propriis manibus,”* as the exemptions read), the Cistercians at first kept under their exclusive control everything they owned.³⁰ Thus, as the Order expanded and acquired extensive properties, which the monks and lay brothers tended, the application of the exemption to those Cistercian lands on which tithes had been paid previously by their lay owners shocked bishops and other tithe-owners into an acute awareness of dwindling income.

The bishops, who had first taken the initiative in granting indi-

possessiones ad excolendum cum consensu et voluntate conventus sui et patris abbatis, vel visitatoris, facta tamen prius de decimis compositione assensu et auctoritate episcopi dioecesani.”

²⁸ The subject has been treated by Hoffmann in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 715–719, and in *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 33 (n.s., 2, 1912), 421–449; by Georg Schreiber, *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert, Studien zur Privilegierung, Verfassung und besonders zum Eigenkirchenwesen der vorfranziskanischen Orden vornehmlich auf Grund der Papsturkunden von Paschalis II. bis auf Lucius III. (1099–1181)*, (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1910), Vol. 1, pp. 246–269; by Pierre-Paul Viard, “Saint Bernard et les moines décimateurs,” in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Vol. 1, pp. 292–294 (brief remarks without documentation); by Francesco Gosso, *Vita economica della abbazie piemontesi (sec. X–XIV)* (Rome, 1940), pp. 204–208 (general analysis of “I Cisterciensi et la decima” and special reference to the abbeys of Casanova and Staffarda); by Catherine E. Boyd, *A Cistercian Nunnery in Medieval Italy, The Story of Rifreddo in Saluzzo, 1220–1300* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 50–71, 123–138 (an excellent summary of local conditions with little reference to Cistercian policy); by Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–118 (most complete treatment); and by Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 355–356 (brief remarks in regard to the English Cistercians). Knowles’ treatment is based on illuminating passages in *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, especially Vol. 1, pp. 380–383, which contain a summary of the question in the period 1215–1302.

²⁹ PL, 179: 123, dated February 18, 1132: “. . . statuimus, ut de laboribus, quos vos et totius vestrae congregationis fratres propriis manibus et sumptibus colitis, et de animalibus vestris a vobis decimas expetere recipere nemo praesumat.” Williams considers the exemption “unfortunate” (*Saint Bernard*, p. 349).

³⁰ Hoffmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 715; Gosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–205.

vidual Cistercian abbeys exemptions as early as 1118,³¹ while chiefly disturbed, were not the only opponents of the exemption. Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, for example, demanded without avail that the privilege be withdrawn, claiming that the Cluniacs would otherwise be deprived of one-tenth of their income. The Cluniac priory of Gigny in Burgundy, being unable to collect from its former tithe-payer, the Cistercian abbey of Le Miroir, organized a raid to intimidate the delinquents in 1152; and some financial arrangement was finally made in 1155.³² The result of concerted opposition to the Cistercian privilege was that Pope Adrian IV (1154–1159), by changing the wording of the usual Cistercian exemption, exempted only *novalis*, that is, new land recently put under cultivation for the first time and for which tithes had never been paid.³³ Thus, by changing the Order's exemption to one from noval tithes, the Pope placed the Cistercians in the position of having to pay tithes on lands acquired if tithes had been paid previously.

Pope Alexander III (1159–1181), however, completely reversed the action of Pope Adrian, pointing out that the latter had acted on "his personal authority" ("*pro voluntate sua*") and that the action of other popes as well as the authority of Scripture warranted the insistence on the former privilege.³⁴ The change in the exemption back to the old form dates from 1160.³⁵ Opposition, nonetheless, did not subside. In a strongly worded letter of 1174, Alexander admonished Archbishop Henry of Rheims and Bishop Desiderius of T  rouanne to bring an end to the attempts of certain canons and two Benedictine monasteries to collect tithes even on *novalis* and pasturage from the Cistercians of Clairmarais.³⁶ The bishop of Coventry, who had evidently at-

³¹ Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.

³² Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, Vol. 2, pp. 504–509; Williams, *Saint Bernard*, pp. 349–351.

³³ The exemption for Hardehausen, diocese of Paderborn, illustrates the point. *PL*, 188: 1430, dated June 11, 1155: "Sane novalium vestrorum quae propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis, aut de nutrimentis vestrorum animalium, nullus omnino a vobis decimas exigere praesumat." Also, the exemptions for Pontigny in 1157 (*PL*, 188: 1500) and Marienthal in 1159 (*PL*, 188: 1624). See Hoffmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1910), 717–719, and Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

³⁴ Mansi, t. 22, cols. 327–328, pars XIII, c. 3: "Cautum siquidem in scriptis praedecessorum nostrorum Romanorum pontificum habetur, quod religiosi viri ab exactione decimarum de laboribus, . . . Sed pia recordationis Hadrianus papa praedecessor noster labores in novalia pro sua voluntate convertit." See Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁵ See the bull for Rievaulx, dated November 20, 1160; *PL*, 200: 90; Jaff  -L  wenfeld, no. 10633. For many examples after this time, see Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109, n. 3.

³⁶ *PL*, 200: 979–980, *ep.* 1127, dated March 21, 1174: "Non ignorat, sicut credimus, vestrae discretionis prudentia, quomodo a Patribus et praedecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus universis fratribus Cisterciensis ordinis indultum sit, et a nobis etiam innovatum, ut de laboribus suis, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt, sive de nutrimentis animalium suorum nulli decimas solvere

tempted to collect tithes from the Cistercian abbey of Pipewell, was cautioned in equally strong terms in a letter of 1179, which was included among the canons of the Third Lateran Council of that year. Pope Alexander declared that Pope Adrian did not really mean to subject all Cistercian land save *novalis* to tithe and that bishops who pressed their own interpretations were engaging in deceitful and fraudulent practices.³⁷

Alexander, however, was well aware that complaints against Cistercian aggressiveness could not be easily assuaged. Sometime between 1161 and 1175, he had to warn the English Cistercians against violating their own statutes by acquiring churches and the rights of patronage to churches.³⁸ About this time, too, in an undated letter, Archbishop

teneantur. . . . a religiosis de Claromarisco, non solum de aliis, sed etiam de quibusdam novalibus et nutrimentis animalium suorum decimas exigere non verentur, quod nemini quantumcunque religioso liceret." See also Alexander's letters of February 11, 1175 (to the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans), of April 23, 1175 (to the bishops of Amiens and Térouanne), and of May 12, 1175 (to the archbishops of Rheims and Rouen and their suffragans), in Johannes Ramackers (ed.), *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, Neue Folge (Göttingen, Vol. 2 [Normandie, 1937], Vol. 3 [Artois, 1940]), Vol. 3, pp. 126-127 (no. 66), p. 127 (no. 67), and Vol. 2, p. 239 (no. 141) respectively.

³⁷ Mansi, t. 22, col. 329, pars XIII, c. 8: "Ad audientiam nostram noveritis pervenisse, quod quidam vestratium a dilectis filiis nostris abbate et fratribus de Pipennella, qui sunt Cistrensis [*sic*] ordinis, de laboribus quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt, decimas exigere et extorquere conantur, illud privilegii capitulum sedis apostolicae prava interpretatione ac malitiose pervertentes, quo eisdem fratribus indulgetur, ne de laboribus quos propriis manibus et sumptibus excolunt, aliquis ab eis decimas exigere audeat. Asserunt enim quod pro laboribus novalia intellegi debent. . . . si tantum de novalibus intellexissemus, ubi ponimus, *De laboribus*: poneremus: *De novalibus*: sicut in privilegiis quorundam aliorum praesumimus." Alexander used the same language in the letter of May 12, 1175 to the archbishops of Rheims and Rouen and their suffragans (Ramackers, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 239). See also, Mansi, t. 22, cols. 327-328, c. 3, 5.

Pope Alexander's explicit statement concerning the policy of Pope Adrian is not supported by the wording of Adrian's bulls. Alexander wrote: ". . . praedecessor noster Hadrianus, soli fratribus Cistrensis [*sic*] ordinis, et Templariis et Hospitalariis decimas laborum suorum indulsit. Ceteris vero, ut de novalibus suis, quae propriis manibus et sumptibus excolunt, et de nutrimentis animalium suorum et de hortis suis decimas non persolvant, concessit" (*ibid.*, col. 328, c. 5). Mahn's analysis of the problem under Alexander (*op. cit.*, pp. 108-111) is the most complete.

³⁸ *PL*, 200: 1004-1005, *ep.* 1152, dated 1161 to 1175 (see also Jaffé-Löwenfeld, no. 12412): "Relatum est auribus nostris quod vos jus repraesentandi clericos ad ecclesias, contra antiquam consuetudinem et institutionem ordinis vestri, emptionis titulo et modis aliis satagitis adipisci, ut sub tali praetextu vobis liceat habere ecclesias, et per vos et per alios detinere. Quoniam igitur non decet vos occasione qualibet vel obtentu ab antiquis institutionibus patrum vestrorum recedere, aut quidquam efficere de quo possitis cupiditatis vitio reprehendi, discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus jura patronatus in ecclesiis aut ecclesias acquirere desistatis; quia non expedit vobis nec nos volumus sustinere, ut sub tali praetextu vobis vel ordini vestro derogetur. Sane usque adeo vos et ordinem vestrum diligimus, ut vos in his quae religioni et honestati vestrae contraria sunt, nullatenus confovere velimus, qui de vobis nihil incommodi nihilque volumus audire sinistri."

Richard of Canterbury (1174–1184) sent his friendly advice to the abbot and brethren of Cîteaux. He emphasized the argument that the exemption from tithe was tolerable when it was granted because the Cistercians were poor then, but that now, when their possessions were so numerous, their privilege was merely a sign of ambition. He urged the Order to accustom itself to payment of tithes, particularly those which were collected previously by clerics and monks (since refusal to pay these was the cause of the most serious opposition).³⁹ In short, Archbishop Richard urged a return to the compromise of Pope Adrian—exemption only from noval tithes. The pressure reached such a point of intensity that Alexander himself took a hand in the matter. In a letter of June 6, 1179 (or 1178) to the Cistercian general chapter, he referred to the expansion of the Order, especially in England and France, and to the incessant complaints from ecclesiastics concerning the loss of tithes. Pointing to the need for avoiding such scandal, he ordered the Cistercians to discontinue the acquisition of monasteries, particularly in those two countries, and to halt the expansion of their landed possessions and their pasturage. In addition, he required that they set a limit to the number of religious and restrict also the number of animals for each house.⁴⁰

³⁹ *PL*, 207: 252–255. He praises the Order, and then (cols. 253–255) points to the growing dissatisfaction concerning exemption from tithes: “Non ponimus os nostrum in coelum, nec de facto summi pontificis disputamus. Sed si dominus papa quadam indulgentia speciali quandoque privilegiavit vos, dum ordo vester in paupertate [te]nдебat, dum in usus egentium quae tenuitatis viscera liberaliter effundebat, potuit tolerari ad tempus, licet in communem redundaret injuriam, quod causa necessitatis fuerat introductum. Nunc autem, quando vestrae possessiones multiplicatae sunt, etiam in immensum; privilegia haec potius ambitionis, quam religionis instrumenta consentur. . . . Antequam ergo res in deteriorem vergat exitum, vestrae famae maturius providentes, velitis assuescere solutioni decimarum, illarum maxime, quas cum majore omnium rancore et odio usurpatis, et quas clerici sive monachi hactenus perceperunt. Nam si de novalibus tantum, sicut beatae recordationis Adrianus papa constituit, decimas retinetis, nobis in ea re damnum erit tolerabilius, cujus emolumenta non sensimus. Verum juxta philosophi sententiam, non sine dolore amittitur, quod delectabiliter et commode possidetur.”

⁴⁰ Wilhelm Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich* (in *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Beihefte, 7 vols., Berlin, 1906–1913), Vol. 2 (Burgund mit Bresse und Bugey, 1906), pp. 60–62, no. 38, dated June 6, 1178–1179. After referring to the decline that took place in some abbeys during the schism and also to the need for a return to early vigilance, Alexander says (pp. 61–62): “Unum est ad quod inter alia corrigendum, sicut pater et predecessor noster sancte recordationis Eugenius papa uos sepe commonuit et nos aliquando commonuimus, attenta meditatione debetis intendere, quia, cum per Dei gratiam uester ordo ubique et presertim in regnis Francie et Anglie sit plurimum dilatus, ecclesiastici vires de subtractione decimarum grauant nos clamoris uocibus incessanter et aduersum uos, sicut nostris, interdum graue scandalum suscitant, quod, ut quietius iuxta pium propositum uestrum obsequiis possitis diuinis insistere, debetis omnibus modis euitare. Cessate itaque in illis presertim duobus regnis acquirere de cetero monasteria uel fundare aut dilatare possessiones seu congregare animalia in immensum, sed mediocritatem sequamini, cum non sine causa dixerit sapientissimus ille Diuitias et paupertates

Thus apprised of the fruitless enmities that had developed, the general chapter, in 1180, ordered that, if an abbey purchased lands or vineyards thereafter from which churches or monasteries or ecclesiastical persons had collected tithes previously, the abbey must continue to pay the tithes unless it received them as a donation or made some satisfactory arrangement.⁴¹ Various prohibitions against further purchases of lands in the years 1182–1206 were enacted in an effort to eliminate charges of avarice and to prevent dangerous indebtedness.⁴² During this period, the popes defended the privileges of the Order.⁴³

Undoubtedly, however, few were satisfied with a mere decision of the Order, especially since this decision was probably ignored on many occasions. In a letter of June 20, 1213, Pope Innocent III sent a solemn warning to the Cistercians of the diocese of Fünfkirchen (Pécs), in Hungary—evidently, the monks of Czikador. The bishop had complained that the monks were buying many vineyards from which he and churches of his diocese collected tithes. According to this report, at the same time that the Cistercians were refusing to pay tithes on their new holdings, they were planning to use the vineyards not for their own use but for wholesale wine production. Innocent demanded an end to such scandal and warned that complaints of this kind might lead the approaching Fourth Lateran Council to restrict or abrogate the privileges of the Order in this matter “because he who abuses a privilege deserves to lose it.”⁴⁴ Within about a year, however, the

ne dederis mihi, et statuite secundum facultates monasteriorum uestrorum certum numerum personarum et animalium, quem nemini liceat transgredi . . .”

⁴¹ C, 1: 86–87 (1180), 1: “Interim autem propter scandalum gravior, quod super retentione decimarum undique crescit in dies, providemus et firmiter praecipimus, ut quicumque ex vobis ad hoc die, et deinceps adquisierit agros vel vineas, ex quibus ecclesiae vel monasteria, seu personae quaelibet ecclesiasticae percipere hactenus decimas consueverant, sine contradictione exsolvant, nisi forte iam donationem exinde receperunt, vel compositionem fecerunt, aut in posterum in pace acquirere poterunt.” Abbeys were permitted later to buy off the claims of the possessors. C, 1: 142 (1191), 43: “Qui tamen, ut alibi dictum est, certas pensiones debent vel de propriis decimis inquietantur, poterunt huiusmodi sibi acquirere.” Of course, it is doubtful that every abbey sought to make a compromise in accordance with the mandate of 1180. See, for example, Gosso’s discussion of Casanova’s litigation in the period 1180–1204 (*op. cit.*, p. 206). Gosso, however, also indicates that compromises with the owner of the tithe were frequent; he cites one such arrangement made by Staffarda in 1204 with a local noble (*ibid.*, p. 207).

⁴² See note 21, above.

⁴³ Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112. And, having called a halt to expansion, the Order stood ready to punish those who paid tithes in spite of their privileges. C, 1: 287 (1203), 15: “De monachis Cisterciensibus qui hoc anno in Anglia solverunt decimas, committitur domino Cistercii qui digne corrigat et emendet.”

⁴⁴ August Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV* (2 vols., Berlin, 1874), no. 4767; PL, 216: 886, dated June 20, 1213: “Venerabilis frater noster Quinquecclesiensis episcopus nobis intimare curavit quod vos extendentes ad lucra turpia manus vestras, multitudinem emitis vinearum, de quibus sibi vel ecclesiis suae dioecesis decimae solvi debent; quarum vinum licet nequaquam in usus proprios expendatis sed vendendum ad

Pope reached a final decision and communicated his wishes to the Order, whereupon the general chapter enacted, in 1214, the absolute prohibition against new purchases which has been considered above.

Adopting the principle that was basic to the measures taken by Pope Adrian, Pope Innocent promulgated the new regulations in Canon 55 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The Pope stated that the general chapter, in accordance with his advice, recently had prohibited the purchase of possessions from which tithes were due to churches, though the prohibition did not apply to purchases for new foundations or to pious donations; and that in the case of these two exceptions the lands were to be rented out to other cultivators who would pay the tithes. The Pope therefore decreed that for whatever possessions of others the Cistercians acquired, even if they themselves should cultivate such lands, they were either to pay the tithe or to reach an agreement with the churches concerned when such lands had been subject to tithe.⁴⁵

Thus, while lands which the Cistercians brought under cultivation or would recover in the future and cultivate themselves⁴⁶ and lands

alias faciatis provincias deportari, decimas tamen sibi vel ipsis ecclesiis subtrahitis ex eisdem. Cum igitur ex hoc ordini vestro plurimum detrahatur, universitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ab iis de caetero taliter desistatis quod materia scandali auferatur, et super hoc de vobis clamor ad nos ulterius non ascendat; scientes vobis esse merito formidandum ne propter clamores huiusmodi sacrum concilium, auctore Domino, in proximo celebrandum privilegia vestra coarctanda provideat vel etiam revocanda, cum privilegium mereatur amittere qui concessa sibi abutitur libertate."

The offending abbey must have been Czikador, founded in 1142, since the only other Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Fünfkirchen, Vallis-Honesta, was founded in 1232, after this issue had developed. See Janauschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 235, 372.

⁴⁵ Mansi, t. 22, cols. 1042-1043, c. 55: "Nuper abbates Cisterciensis ordinis, in generali capitulo congregati, ad commotionem nostram provide statuerunt, ne de cetero fratres ipsius ordinis emant possessiones, de quibus decimae debentur ecclesiis, nisi forte pro monasteriis noviter fundandis. Et si tales possessiones eis fuerint pia fidelium devotione collatae, aut emptae pro monasteriis de novo fundandis, committant excolendis aliis, a quibus ecclesiis decimae persolvantur, ne occasione privilegiorum suorum ecclesiae ulterius praegraventur. Decernimus ergo, ut de alienis terris, et amodo acquirendis, etiamsi eas propriis manibus aut sumptibus deinceps excoluerunt, decimas persolvant ecclesiis, quibus ratione praedictorum antea solvebantur, nisi cum ipsis ecclesiis aliter duxerint componendum. Nos ergo statum huiusmodi gratum et ratum habentes, hoc ipsum ad alios regulares, qui gaudent similibus privilegiis, extendi volumus." The reference to the recent decision of the general chapter applies to the statute of 1214 and its repetition in 1215, not to the statute of 1180 as Hoffmann believed (*Studien und Mitteilungen*, 33 [1912], 448). The general chapter convened in September of every year.

⁴⁶ This interpretation was insisted upon in similar bulls of December 18, 1218, November 10, 1220, and December 17, 1220 (Potthast, nos. 5941, 6396, 6447). For example, in the last of these, Pope Honorius III stated: "Sane quia sicut audivimus quidam suo nimis inhaerentes ingenio, nimiumque voluntarii concilii generalis interpretes de novalibus post idem concilium acquisitis a vobis intendunt decimas extorquere, . . . nos interpretacionem illorum intellectui constitutionis praedicti concilii super Cisterciensium decimis editae asserimus peregrinam. . . . Inhibemus

held before the Council⁴⁷ would not be subject to tithe, payment would be due on most new acquisitions regardless of whether the Cistercians cultivated the land or leased it to others. In time, such an understanding of the conciliar legislation would support the demands for leasing land. In the years immediately after 1215, however, the general chapter could not be swayed by such a consideration. Traditional policy could not be changed too quickly, and it was wise to make haste slowly until episcopal reaction to the new decree could be known. The Cistercian statutes of 1220 and 1224, considered above,⁴⁸ reflect such an attitude of caution.

After the Council of 1215, there was a kind of trial period during which diocesan officials and other tithe-owners tested the precise meaning of the new legislation. In 1216, the general chapter ordered that abbots from whom tithes were demanded on lands possessed before the Council should avail themselves of their privileges.⁴⁹ In 1224, after the general chapter had met, the Cistercians secured a further clarification of the question from Pope Honorius III. The Pontiff's special service to the Order was to deny the validity of any claims to noval tithes that might be brought in connection with *novalles* held either before or after the Council.⁵⁰ Less than a month later, the Pope

igitur . . . , ut nullus a vobis de novalibus a tempore concilii excultis vel impostum propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolendis decimas exigere vel extorquere praesumat" (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 5, p. 232, no. 10).

⁴⁷ If the lands were rented, of course, the question of paying tithe would arise.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 43.

⁴⁹ C, 1: 449 (1216), 3: "Abbates a quibus decimae exiguntur de terris ante Concilium possessis, privilegiis suis utantur, nec de illis decimas reddere consentiant, nisi prius reddidissent." Disputes over tithe-payment between Cistercian abbeys also offered a complication, for a statute of 1230 reveals the practice of purchasing tithe-rights on land not belonging to an abbey. Thus, one house might be compelled to make payments to another. C, 2: 84 (1230), 3: "Quaestio de decimis ita terminatur, quod quaelibet Ordinis nostri abbatia terras post Concilium adquisierit, de quibus decimae ratione praediorum antea solvebantur, tenetur etiam solvere abbatiis Ordinis nostri, quae de consensu dioecesani ab illo cui decimae debentur vel debebantur, ius illarum adquisierunt decimarum." Despite the prohibition in the *Statuta*, a few Cistercian abbeys became tithe-owners even in the twelfth century, mainly in connection with patronage of churches (which was also forbidden to the Order). In a bull of November 27, 1229, Pope Gregory IX authorized Clairvaux to collect all noval tithes in a specified villa ". . . cum, sicut asseritis, in villa Morinvillari de consensu eorum ad quos de jure pertinere noscuntur habeatis antique decime duas partes . . ." (Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 265 [pièces justificatives, no. 4]). Finally, the right to collect noval tithes where an abbey already owned the old tithes was extended to the entire Order in 1249 (*ibid.*, p. 118).

⁵⁰ Potthast, no. 7313, dated November 9, 1224: ". . . mandat, ut abbates et fratres Cisterciensis ordinis a praestatione decimarum tam de possessionibus habitis ante generale concilium et de novalibus sive ante sive post idem concilium adquisitis, quae propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt, quam de hortis, virgultis piscationibusque suis ac de animalium suorum nutrimentis omnino servant immunes." Note, too, that the Pope mentions the land for the pasturage of animals. Exemption on this matter was overlooked in the decision of the Lateran Council. See Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

resolved another issue in favor of the Cistercians: if lands acquired by the Order and rented to others before the Council should be returned or recovered by the Order after the Council and cultivated by the Cistercians, such possessions would not be subject to tithe.⁵¹

In regard to purchase of lands, the general chapter still had misgivings, though permission to buy had been granted in 1216 as a logical consequence of the legislation of the Council.⁵² But it felt strong enough, in 1229, to pass only a very weak prohibition against

⁵¹ Potthast, no. 7320, dated November 25, 1224: "Abbatibus et fratribus Cisterciensis ordinis significat, se inhibere, ut nullus ab eis de terris ante concilium generale acquisitis, sed aliis concessis ad excolendum, quae ad ipsos redierint, si illas manibus propriis aut sumptibus colant, occasione concilii memorati decimas exigere vel extorquere praesumat." See Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

The privilege of exemption was extended in several ways between 1224 and 1261. In the bull of November 9, 1224 (cited in n. 50 above), Honorius also exempted gardens, orchards, and fisheries. In a bull of February 13, 1244, Pope Innocent IV added woods, salt mines or works, and mills (Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 114, citing collection of bulls in the Archives de L'Aube). In a bull of March 25, 1244, Innocent added the products of animals (wool, milk, and lambs), and in a bull of March 28, 1244 he added the pastures of others that were used by Cistercians (*ibid.*, citing collection of bulls in the Archives Nationales). In these instances the bulls were for the abbey of Notre-Dame du Val. The exemption covering the products of animals is mentioned in a bull of April 11, 1244 for Flines (E. Hautcoeur [ed.], *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Flines* [2 vols., Lille, 1873], Vol. 1, pp. 40-41). Pope Alexander IV made three important grants to the Order. In a bull of December 21, 1257, he exempted Clairvaux from paying tithes on lands which it rented to others for cultivation, then or in the future, if it had not paid tithes for them previously. Of course, the tenants were also exempted (Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 271 [pièces justificatives, no. 9]: ". . . indulgemus ut de terris cultis et incultis ad monasterium ipsum spectantibus, quas nunc aliis conceditis vel concedetis imposterum excolendas, de quibus tamen adhuc aliquis decimas non percepit, nullus a vobis seu cultoribus terrarum ipsarum aut quibuscumque aliis decimas exigere vel extorquere presumat."). It is difficult to understand Mahn's statement that "cette mesure fut étendue à tout l'ordre en 1261" (*ibid.*, p. 114). He cites the bull of May 11, 1261, which is summarized in Potthast, no. 18101. Actually, this important concession was not made until 1302. See below, p. 55. The second favor bestowed upon the whole Order by Alexander was to exempt the share gained by the Cistercians in renting out their animals (Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 114, February 1, 1261; also, the bull of March 18, 1255 to Schoenau, Potthast, no. 15747). Lastly, in a bull of May 11, 1261, Alexander notified the abbot of Cîteaux and the general chapter that they could specify seven abbeys of the Order to be exempted from tithes on their rented lands which had been cultivated by the monks previously and which had been free from tithe-payment (Mahn, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Potthast, no. 18101). This privilege would enable the designated monasteries, in addition to Clairvaux, to rent noval land without fear of tithe claims being made against themselves or the peasant occupants. Potthast's summary reads: "Abbati et generali capitulo Cistercii significat, se septem monasteriis ipsorum ordinis, quae eligenda duxerint, indulgere, ut de terris ad illa spectantibus, quas abbates et conventus propriis manibus et sumptibus hactenus coluerunt et de quibus aliquis decimas non percepit, nullus ab eisdem abbatibus et conventibus vel cultoribus terrarum ipsarum decimas exigere aut extorquere praesumat."

⁵² See note 24, above.

the purchase of immovables for ten years.⁵³ Upon the expiration of the ten-year period, the law was repeated without time limit, and again in 1240 with practically the same exceptions.⁵⁴ Furthermore, while fathers-abbot were given almost absolute control in approving or disapproving acquisitions by a statute of 1248,⁵⁵ abbeys were freed from such surveillance in 1278.⁵⁶ This change meant that the barriers were down despite occasional investigations by order of the general chapter and despite the necessity of securing license from the same body to make exchanges, concessions, or other alienations.⁵⁷

In short, the years between 1224 and 1278 mark the breakdown of earlier principles concerning the leasing and purchasing of land. Further changes in the method of leasing were enacted in 1302 and 1315 and both leasing and purchasing were completely regulated by the papal reform legislation of 1335.⁵⁸ In the meantime, however, Cistercians almost likened themselves to Benedictines by increasing their sources of income. And, in the short as well as the long run, the Order placed itself in an advantageous economic position by adopting gradually a new form of manorial organization that was being introduced by forward-looking lords and abbeys.

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The outline of this new form—but only the bare outline, since conclusions are “imperfect and provisional in the extreme”—was sketched by Ganshof.⁵⁹ Its distinguishing characteristic was the granting of land on short-term leases for “dues in money or in kind to which labour services had become purely accessory.”⁶⁰ Ultimately, it meant the reorganization of the classical domain, which, on most of the Con-

⁵³ Under the following conditions, purchases could still be made: (1) if there were feudal, censual, or other rights possessed by others on something which an abbey had already purchased; (2) if a possession had been sold earlier and the money secured would be used for another purchase within the limitations of the present statute; (3) if money had been given in alms for the special purpose of buying some land; (4) if the abbot desired to make a useful exchange or to acquire tithes, pensions, or returns which were owed, or pasture rights and other rights to use; (5) if abbeys were not more than thirty years old (from their foundation date). *C*, 2: 75–76 (1229), 4; see also, *C*, 2: 84 (1230), 4; 112 (1233), 9.

⁵⁴ *C*, 2: 202 (1239), 4; 215–216 (1240), 1.

⁵⁵ *C*, 2: 327 (1248), 1.

⁵⁶ *C*, 3: 175 (1278), 3: “Item, statuitur quod non obstantibus aliquibus antiquis constitutionibus, factis inter abbates, quilibet possit acquirere et acquisita retinere, et suos terminos dilatare, salvo iure alieno.”

⁵⁷ For other pertinent statutes, see *C*, 3: 197 (1280), 11; 233 (1285), 12; 253 (1291), 21, 22, 29, 35; 261 (1293), 2; 271 (1294), 21, 35; 289–290 (1297), 13, 17, 19, 32; 310 (1303), 7 (sale of an abbey; see also, 327 [1313], 3; 344 [1319], 22); 329 (1314), 5. One must note, of course, that the father-abbot still exercised some control when he looked into financial matters on his annual visitation.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 56.

⁵⁹ *Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. 1, pp. 303–315.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

tenant, had been cultivated by various gradations of peasants, and from which were secured the many payments in kind, money, and services so frequently described as pertaining to the textbook manor. Henri Sée indicated instances of this reorganization in the twelfth century and also pointed to the reforms introduced by Guillaume de Ryckel at Saint-Trond in the thirteenth century,⁶¹ which Henri Pirenne had explained earlier.⁶² In his study of Saint-Bertin, a Benedictine house in Artois, G. W. Coopland observed the slow growth of tenantry *ad censam*, by contract, in the last quarter of the twelfth century.⁶³ Furthermore, Ganshof emphasized the fact that Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis adopted the system in one of his abbey estates, though he cautioned us to realize that this and other instances were really isolated ones in the twelfth century. Leases became a normal part of the administration of the domain only in the late twelfth century and more generally in the thirteenth.⁶⁴

In the application of this lease system, the actual policies of various Cistercian monasteries would naturally vary within both the limits established by the general chapter and those established by environment. The statutes, however, point to certain general tendencies and indicate a definite revision of official policy. They provide, first of all, some insight into an administrative arrangement that was intermediate

⁶¹ *Les Classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1901), pp. 569-570.

⁶² *Le Livre de l'abbé Guillaume de Ryckel*, pp. ii-v, xxiv-xxv.

⁶³ *The Abbey of St. Bertin and Its Neighbourhood, 900-1350* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 88-90.

⁶⁴ Ganshof's reference may be to the rehabilitation of the villa of Toury, an important estate and one which was very dear to Suger since he had been in charge of it ca. 1110-1112. See *Sugerii liber de rebus gestis*, in Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, p. 172. Notice might also be taken of Suger's employment of *hospites* on lands near the abbey at annual rents advantageous to the abbey (*ibid.*, p. 158).

For a good brief treatment of the change from direct exploitation of the demesne by lords, see Marc Bloch, *Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Oslo, 1931), pp. 67-105. Naturally, in the case of England, a different set of factors and sometimes strikingly different effects in manorial change must be granted. Admitting the dangers of generalization, one may point out that the pure rental system has been found fairly extensively for the twelfth century in several surveys (M. Postan, "The Chronology of Labour Services," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th s., 20 [1937], 178-179). But demesne farming in the thirteenth century, being very prosperous, did not favor the peasants, even though some lords were also inclined to rent parts of the demesne, waste land, and assarts (Nellie Neilson, in *Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. 1, p. 466). Indications of transition from bailiff farming to the custom of leasing the demesne farms have been observed for the late thirteenth century (E. E. Power, "The Effects of the Black Death on Rural Organization in England," *History*, n.s. 3 (1918), 114) and more so for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (E. P. Cheyney, "The Disappearance of English Serfdom," *EHR*, 15 (1900), 34-35; K. G. Feiling, "An Essex Manor in the Fourteenth Century," *EHR*, 26 (1911), 336-337; F. W. Maitland, "The History of a Cambridgeshire Manor," *EHR*, 9 (1894), 432-433).

between direct cultivation and leasing to *coloni*—namely, the management of entire granges by monks, lay brothers, or lay people, who returned a regular rent to the abbey. A statute of 1261 indicates that abbots frequently gave granges to laymen for an annual rent, though not without endangering the granting of hospitality to Cistercians on such granges;⁶⁵ a similar statute of 1334 is of the same import.⁶⁶ Moreover, in 1262, it was mentioned as established practice that granges were confided to the management of monks and *conversi* who returned a regular rent.⁶⁷ This practice in regard to monks and lay brothers, T. A. M. Bishop believes, may have been usual on many Cistercian granges in Yorkshire before the leasing of granges to laymen became common at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁶⁸ The assigning of granges to lay brothers was probably practiced at Meaux during the early part of the thirteenth century, though the action of the abbot was not a testimony to its success.⁶⁹

From the viewpoint of monastic discipline, such management by monks and *conversi* was far less desirable than renting to laymen, for, aside from the pride and arrogance which might result, it placed a tempting obstacle in the way of observance of poverty. In 1262, the general chapter expressed the fear that part of the income might be appropriated by an assiduous monk or lay brother.⁷⁰ In 1470, this

⁶⁵ *C*, 2: 477 (1261), 10: "Cum per diversis casibus seu necessitatibus frequenter contingere soleat quod abbates grangias in manibus saecularium sub annuo censu sine aliis modis committant . . ."

⁶⁶ *C*, 3: 409 (1334), 11.

⁶⁷ *C*, 3: 3 (1262), 10: "Item, statuit et ordinat Capitulum generale quod cum aliquis monacho vel converso suo aliquam grangiam suam ad firmam concedit, soluto censu in quo tenetur monachus vel conversus abbatis, residuum bonorum sibi commissae grangiae non appropriet, nec praeter ordinationem abbatis aliquid inde facere audeat vel praesumat."

⁶⁸ "Monastic Granges in Yorkshire," *EHR*, 51 (1936), 197–198.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 36. How early this practice was instituted, it is impossible to say. There is no statute prohibiting it. Furthermore, it does not differ much from the method of appointing a lay brother or monk to act as *magister grangiae*, which was used by the Cistercians from the earliest times. The change is in one sense a matter of keeping a more regular account of finances by providing for specific incomes. Bishop's statement, that "Such a practice was permitted in the Cistercian order as early as 1262" (*ibid.*, p. 198), appears to be too conservative in the light of our information concerning Meaux.

The *conversi* at Evesham, a Benedictine house in Worcestershire, proved a failure at the same tasks during the time of Abbot John de Brokehampton (1282–1316): "Iste quidem abbas quum praedecessores sui quosdam fratres vocatos conversos super maneriis, vallis constituissent, qui omnia paene demoliti sunt, ad magnam utilitatem istius domus, ne ulterius proprietarii fierent omnes revocari fecit, ut eorum vota jejuniis et orationibus in monasterio perficerent." See W. D. Macray (ed.), *Chronicon abbatis de Evesham ad annum 1418* (London, 1863), p. 285.

⁷⁰ See note 67, above. Some two hundred years later, the general chapter had to protest against this possibility having become a reality in too many cases. *C*, 5: 239 (1469), 21: "Graves et scandalosos abusos in Ordine ortos et dietim insurgentes ex indebitis contractibus inter nonnullos Ordinis abbates et suos monachos factos

body had to deal with a monk who held a grange against the will of his abbot and refused to hand over any income to the abbey.⁷¹ On the other hand, in 1400, it forbade the abbot and convent of Bonnevalle to deprive a monk of a grange "as long as the said Brother Brito manages this grange very faithfully and usefully, and leads a regular and praiseworthy life."⁷² It is needless to ask what St. Bernard would have done in this instance.

Wholehearted approval for the system of leasing to *coloni*, which was a momentous change in Cistercian economic policy, was made possible by Pope Boniface VIII's bull of December 18, 1302. The favor conferred upon the Order on this occasion reflected the Pope's deep appreciation of strong Cistercian support at great financial sacrifice during the struggle with King Philip IV of France which was then nearing its climax.⁷³ The bull provided that Cistercian lands either under domestic cultivation or leased to *coloni* were not to be subject thenceforth to tithe if no one had been collecting tithes from the possessions up to that time. It thus extended to the entire Order a privilege which was enjoyed previously only by Clairvaux (since 1257) and by seven other abbeys (since 1261). As a result, the Order could lease a great amount of its landed possessions, its noval lands, without subjecting it to the claims of tithe-owners.⁷⁴ The general chapter, in

et passatos, quibus damnabiliter sicut saecularibus frequenter ipsi abbates tradunt domos et grangias ad firmam, ac etiam contra Ordinis regularia statuta, litteras obligatorias sub sigillis abbatis et conventus se eis obligando tradunt ex quo fit, ut cum dicti monachi sensum propter hoc debitum suo monasterio reddiderunt, de residuo secundum suae voluntatis libitum, sicut puri et meri saeculares posse disponere arbitrantur, proprietatis vitium, proh dolor! . . . incurrentes . . ." This state of affairs strongly resembled the Benedictine obedientiary system (see above, pp. 15-16), against which there were vigorous prohibitions (C, 2: 202-203 [1239], 5; 3: 370-371 [1325], 4; 3: 400 [1332], 9).

⁷¹ C, 5: 270-271 (1470), 22.

⁷² C, 3: 740 (1400), 21: ". . . quamdiu dictus frater Brito grangiam ipsam bene fideliter et utiliter rexit, vitamque duxerit laudabilem et honestam."

⁷³ Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Etudes sur l'histoire du XIII^e siècle, Recherches sur la part que l'ordre de Cîteaux et le comte de Flandre prirent à la lutte de Boniface VIII et de Philippe le Bel* (extract, Académie royale de Belgique, *Mémoires*, t. 28) (Brussels, 1853), 105 pp.

⁷⁴ Potthast, no. 25200; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 5, pp. 233-234, no. 12: ". . . indulgemus, ut de terris vestris cultis et incultis ad ordinem vestrum spectantibus, quas aliis concessistis vel concedetis imposterum excolendas de quibus tamen aliquis decimas seu primicias non percepit, nullus a vobis seu cultoribus terrarum ipsarum, aut quibuscumque aliis decimas seu primicias exigere vel extorquere praesumat." See note 51, above.

Apparently, however, the precise meaning of the phrase, "from which no one collects tithes or first fruits," left many abbots in doubt at first concerning the kind of land that would be exempt. Some feared expensive litigation, whereas others felt that the trouble would be more than justified. See *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, Vol. 1, p. 383: "Sed, quia plerisque personis ordinis venit in dubium qualiter illa verba in dicto privilegio, 'De quibus aliquis decimas seu primitias non percepit,' secundum verum intellectum debeant effectui debito mancipari, nec

fact, expressed the hope that no slight gains would accrue to the Order from the indult.⁷⁵ In many cases, abbots rented granges and parcels of land "for life or perpetuity" so extensively that the general chapter, in 1315, would approve such arrangements only if they could be justified to the father-abbot or visitor on grounds of "manifest utility."⁷⁶

Finally, in 1335, the *Constitutio Benedicti Papae XII pro Reformatione Ordinis Cisterciensis*⁷⁷ completely reorganized the system of leasing, making certain changes in order to obviate fraud and the dangers of hasty transactions. All alienations of immovables, rights, and rents required the consent of the monks, a record of the proceedings, special permission of the general chapter, and investigation and approval by two abbots delegated by it. No transactions could be completed unless this procedure had been followed, and the two deputies, the abbot concerned and the father-abbot were to affix their seals to the deed. All money secured by such an arrangement was to be used for other purposes or for the reduction of debt.⁷⁸ Concessions of rights or rents could not be made for a period longer than five years without special permission of the pope and of the general chapter.⁷⁹ Small and sterile tracts of land could be leased for an annual rent after mature deliberation and approval by the father-abbot, but if there were a large number of land parcels to be rented, the general chapter was to be consulted first.⁸⁰

It was under these limitations that the Cistercian Order now had to deal with the more numerous land problems created by the privilege of 1302. After a few years, during which preliminary appeals and investigations were considered,⁸¹ there arose, especially from 1344 on-

declaratum fuit sive decimae seu primitiae aliquo tempore elapso seu post praescriptionem perceptae non fuerunt, idem privilegium in plerisque domibus ordinis nostri nullum effectum in ejus prosecutione est sortitum. Aliqui tamen secundum tenorem dicti privilegii in placitando sententias definitivas pro se assequi meruerunt."

⁷⁵ C, 3: 309-310 (1303), 4: "Item, cum universo Ordini a sanctissimo patre domino Bonifacio . . . sit indultum, ut terras nostras cultas vel non cultas, non solvendo decimas, possimus tradere colonis saecularibus ad colendum, de quibus nullus alius decimas vel primitias percepit, prout in ipso privilegio plenius continetur, ex quo indulto speramus bona non modica Ordini in posterum evenitura . . ."

⁷⁶ C, 3: 330 (1315), 4. See also, C, 3: 326 (1312), 9; 327 (1313), 1; 339 (1318), 6, 18; 344 (1319), 2; 370 (1325), 3; 379 (1328), 2; 391 (1330), 9.

⁷⁷ Otherwise known as the bull *Fulgens sicut stella matutina*, July 12, 1335.

⁷⁸ C, 3: 412-413, nos. 4, 5.

⁷⁹ C, 3: 414, no. 6.

⁸⁰ C, 3: 414, no. 7.

⁸¹ C, 3: 444 (1336), 10 (permission granted); 448 (1337), 13 (report on a request); 451 (1338), 5 (reminder on procedure); 452-453 (1338), 10 (applications for permission to sell and exchange); 464-465 (1340), 17 (investigation ordered concerning a request); 467-468 (1341), 5, 6 (problems of procedure).

ward, a tidal swell of renting and selling.⁸² Seemingly, the sales and leases were makeshifts to bolster the fragile financial structures of the abbeys.

Of course, many abbeys still had much land under exclusive cultivation throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The degree of change, naturally, varied from region to region and even from abbey to abbey. In 1394, the abbey of Meaux controlled in demesne eleven out of about sixteen granges, while Fountains abbey, in 1456, had eight out of thirty granges in the hands of managers (*custodes*), who were either monks, *conversi*, or laymen.⁸³ Heiligenkreuz, in Austria, sought permission in 1430 to give its granges into the hands of lay people.⁸⁴ Several regional studies have thrown additional light on such changes. Gosso has shown that the evolution of Cistercian economy at Staffarda in Piedmont began during the second half of the thirteenth century,⁸⁵ and that in comparison with most Cistercian abbeys both Staffarda and Casanova, which were rich and flourishing in a region of predominating natural economy, employed the non-Cistercian methods at a minimum.⁸⁶ Boyd points out that the same conditions existed at Tiglieto, Casanova, and Ripalta.⁸⁷ E. de Moreau has shown that at Villers in Brabant the monks gradually abandoned as uneconomical the original system of working the granges with lay brothers, but that up to the first half of the fourteenth century only part of the cultivable demesne was rented to lay folk.⁸⁸ Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan's recent study of the Welsh Cistercians reveals that a very decided trend toward renting took place between 1291 and 1535.⁸⁹ There is no evidence, however, to show extensive renting during the early thirteenth century. Strata Florida, though, had tenants as early

⁸² For the year 1334, there are eighteen relevant statutes; and thereafter, down to and including the year 1400, at least ninety-eight.

⁸³ Bishop, in *EHR*, 51 (1936), 197. It has been conjectured that English monasteries kept the demesne, or home, farms under their own control more frequently than did secular lords. See A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (Oxford, 1909), p. 153.

⁸⁴ *C*, 4: 345 (1430), 13: "Eidem conceditur, ut grangiam seu grangias suas, sui conventus concurrente assensu, regere possit per laicos et homines saeculares." Part of the reason may have been that there was a scarcity of monks and lay brothers. The abbot was allowed to admit novices to profession before the year of probation had elapsed (*C*, 4: 345 [1430], 12).

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-166. Ch. 8 of this study is particularly well done, as is the conclusion. One criticism might be offered—the insufficient use of Canivez's *Statuta*, which is not justified by the statement, "Many students . . . will still like to turn the yellowed pages of an earlier, and for a long time the only, collection of statutes, that in E. Martène and U. Durand . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 19, n. 6).

⁸⁸ *L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, Etude d'histoire religieuse et économique* (Brussels, 1909), pp. 167, 181.

⁸⁹ *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540* (New York, 1947), ch. 5 *passim*; esp. pp. 46-48.

as 1202.⁹⁰ Both Basingwerk and Neath, which belonged to the Order of Savigny before its union with the Cistercian Order in 1147, continued to enjoy holdings, such as churches, manors (and their men), and tithes, which were forbidden to the Cistercians during the twelfth century.⁹¹ But such a procedure was usual for former Savigniac houses, and it constituted another means of breaking down the original economic principles of the Cistercian Order.⁹² O'Sullivan concludes: The houses of purely Welsh origin became less feudalized than the abbeys with English sympathies. Whitland, Cwmhir, Strata Florida, and Strata Marcella afford evidence of manorial development in the thirteenth century, but this was slight in comparison with their feudalization in the sixteenth century. The records of Aberconway and Valle Crucis present scant information at the earlier date, but do not differ from the general pattern at the time of the Dissolution. However, Basingwerk, Margam, Neath, and Tintern were thoroughly feudalized by 1291.⁹³

The economic transformation generally worked to the immediate advantage of the abbeys. Heins and Fris demonstrated that this result ensued at Les-Dunes about 1340 when the monks decided to rid themselves of *conversi* and rent the land.⁹⁴ The general chapter tried to be reasonably certain of such financial advantage before it approved a transaction involving either a large number of small tracts⁹⁵ or a whole grange *ad firmam*;⁹⁶ and it did not hesitate to order investigations of suspected contracts of long standing,⁹⁷ and to require the recovery of some granges which were let to laymen who exploited them as units.⁹⁸

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This new economic policy which developed during the thirteenth century could only result in a radical change in the use of the lay-brotherhood. Most of the *conversi* became superfluous. One revolt raised by a lay brother at Ter Doest in Flanders makes this fact very clear. There is no reference to the incident in the statutes, but silence is here understandable since the statutes for the period are not extensive. Inasmuch as this particular revolt serves to epitomize the quan-

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28, 47.

⁹² See above, p. 42, note 18.

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

⁹⁴ A. Heins and M. V. Fris, "Les Granges monumentales des anciennes abbayes des Dunes et de Ter Doest dans la Flandre maritime [au] XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand*, 13 (1905), 83. Les-Dunes had been in enormous debt, yet from the middle of the century finances were stabilized and the monks were thereby enabled to undertake new constructions and acquisitions. Still, the elimination of lay brothers did not help Ter Doest (*ibid.*).

⁹⁵ See, for example, C, 5: 29 (1459), 4; 218 (1467), 57; 324 (1473), 35.

⁹⁶ C, 5: 246 (1469), 44.

⁹⁷ C, 5: 275 (1470), 42.

⁹⁸ C, 5: 209 (1467), 25; 224-225 (1468), 9; 243-244 (1469), 35; 467 (1483), 61.

dary of the lay brother during economic readjustment, some attention may be given it.

Insurrections which flared intermittently in Flanders and particularly at Les-Dunes before 1308 were climaxed by the violence of Guillaume de Saeftingen.⁹⁹ The battle of Courtrai was the beginning of Guillaume's rebelliousness.¹⁰⁰ While working in the fields, he was suddenly urged to accompany the count of Renesse, his former seigneur, and the eighty hastily-gathered vassals in defending the communes of Flanders against Philip the Fair. Guillaume struck down the count of Artois and disabled—so legend and history conspire to tell us—some 1,400 soldiers that day. The people of Bruges never forgot this versatile *miles Christi*; ¹⁰¹ he was memorialized in the painting which adorned the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville of Bruges—conspicuously set among the combatants of July 11, 1302, dressed in the white robes of a Cistercian monk. "*Dieu, quel moine!*" ¹⁰²

Later, back at Ter Doest, Guillaume found scarcely the appropriate milieu for deeds of valor. But then, in the words of the Friar Minor of Ghent,

In . . . [November, 1308] discord arose in Flanders and certain other lands between the monks of the Cistercian Order and their *conversi* because their abbots in a certain meeting before that time had ordained that their lands or fields, which the *conversi* were accustomed to cultivate, should be given over to seculars for cultivation at an annual pension and rent, intending to receive *conversi* no longer and thus to eliminate them in their Order. Because of this ordinance and intention, the said *conversi* conceived a serious hatred against the abbots and monks, to whom these changes were pleasing.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Abbot William of Ter Doest reported to Abbot John of Clairvaux (1299–1304) that the monks and *conversi* of Les-Dunes who opposed their abbot were guilty of calumny in their charges against him. See Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), *Codex Dunensis sive diplomatum et chartarum medii aevi amplissima collectio* (Brussels, 1875), pp. 231–232, no. 147. One of the lay brothers, who is mentioned in this letter only by his initial, is identified by the editor with Guillaume de Saeftingen; if this conclusion is correct, the disturbances at Les-Dunes may have occurred between July, 1302 and 1304. The supposition is that Guillaume had been sent from Ter Doest to Les-Dunes after the battles of Courtrai (July 11, 1302). Another letter, written by Cardinal Berengar Fredoli in February, 1306, advises the abbot of Clairvaux to check the violence of certain religious and *conversi* (*ibid.*, pp. 233–235, no. 149).

¹⁰⁰ Canivez, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique*, pp. 119–123, has an excellent account; see also the brief biography of Guillaume by Napoleon de Pauw, in *Biographie nationale*, publiée par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, t. 21 (1911–1913), cols. 963–965; and the contemporary account by the Friar Minor of Ghent, *Annales Gandenses* (ed. I. M. Lappenberg), s. a. 1308, *MGH*, SS, 16: 954.

¹⁰¹ The Friar Minor of Ghent makes a point of this fact in explaining Guillaume's liberation later on (*MGH*, SS, 16: 954).

¹⁰² Canivez, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique*, p. 119.

¹⁰³ *MGH*, SS, 16: 594: "Eodem mense [mense Novembri, 1308] orta est discordia in Flandria et aliis quibusdam terris inter monachos clericos Cysterciensis ordinis

Thus, the decision of the general chapter and of various communities to achieve the logical consequences of the privilege of 1302 aroused a strong enmity among the lay brothers. In November, 1308, because of the recently adopted policy and other grievances, Brother Guillaume wounded his abbot and fatally injured the grand-cellarer with a lance.¹⁰⁴ It may be surmised that the officials of Ter Doest applied the new system extensively despite the objections of *conversi*.¹⁰⁵

et conversos ipsorum, quia abbates eorum in quadam congregatione sua ordinaverant ante tempus istud, quod terre ipsorum sive agri, quod conversi solebant colere, saecularibus ad colendum, sicut nigri monachi faciant, sub annua pensione et redditu traderentur, intendentes ulterius laicos in conversos non recipere, et sic eos in suo ordine adnullare. De qua ordinatione et intentione dicti conversi adversum abbates et monachos clericos, quibus hec placuerunt, grave odium conceperunt . . ."

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: "... unde quidam frater Wilhelmus de Saeftingen, conversus . . . , vir fortissimus robore, propter hanc causam et propter aliqua gravamina, que dicebat sibi ab abbate suo et quibusdam aliis senioribus monachis clericis iniuste illata, . . . ipsum abbatem atrociter vulneravit et quemdam antiquum monachum clericum, qui maius officium cellerarii post abbatem habebat, crudelissime occidit . . ." Details of the episode are also given in the letter of excommunication (*Codex Dunensis*, pp. 236-237, no. 151). In the Ms. of this letter, the names of Guillaume and his monastery were erased and replaced by the phrases "monachus de Carocampo Morinensis dyocesis" and "Hugo de Sancto Paulo." This variation of the usual identification ("H. conversus") suggests the possibility of an outbreak at Cercamp, or Klaercamp, in Artois (of which I have found no record). Berlière mentions a revolt of *conversi* there (*L'Ordre monastique*, p. 303), but I have been unable to determine his source of information.

¹⁰⁵ Many lay brothers were involved in the revolt though some of them were more amenable to discipline than was Guillaume. He had been besieged in the tower of the church of Lisseweghe after the crime was committed. Some friends from Bruges raised the siege and conducted him to the safety of the town, much to the disgust of the count and nobles of Flanders, who experienced a revulsion of feeling for such action on the part of the townsmen. Eventually, in September, 1309, Guillaume secured absolution on condition that he go to the Holy Land and seek entrance into the Hospitallers, or failing this, enter some other order within eight months of his return. One chronicler related a tradition that he soon became a Mohammedan! See *Codex Dunensis*, pp. 229-230 (no. 144), p. 230 (no. 145), p. 233 (no. 146), p. 237 (no. 151), pp. 239-240 (no. 152), pp. 240-241 (no. 153), pp. 242-243 (no. 154), pp. 243-244 (no. 155); and *Biographie nationale*, t. 21, col. 965.

CONCLUSION

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE of this study has been to provide a more exact explanation for the decline of the laybrotherhood in the Cistercian Order during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Such an objective required a sketch of the development of the laybrotherhood and an analysis of the role of the lay brothers, particularly their functions in caring for material goods in the Order of Cîteaux. These matters dealt with, it remained to determine the nature of the disciplinary problems created by the lay brothers, and to explain how, at about the same time that lay-brother revolts became particularly disturbing, the Order gradually relaxed its first prohibitions against involvement in manorial and feudal obligations, so that lay brothers were, by the early fourteenth century, no longer essential to the proper observance of the customs, or *Usus*, of the Order.

By the twelfth century, the lay brother was a lay religious, as distinct from a clerical religious, but a religious in the full sense of the word—bound by the canonical vows and living under a monastic regime as a part, though a subordinate part, of the community—and, being barred from advancement to clerical orders, employed in the performance of manual labor and in the general care of the secular affairs of the monastery. Such a religious was unknown in early monasticism, and certainly not required by monastic conditions in which manual labor could be performed by the monks, hired servants, or peasants of varying status, and in which the idea of advancement to clerical orders, as well as the need for extensive clerical services, was practically nonexistent. During the period of the seventh to the eleventh century, however, a radical transformation took place within the monastic community, leading to distinctions based on service or function. As a result, the community became divided into two bodies of religious, clerical and lay, each complementing the other in its work. The one devoted most of its time to Divine Office, *lectio divina*, and Masses and prayers for pious benefactors; the other, to manual labor and general custodial tasks. Both groups, however, were on a position of constitutional equality, since the members of both were monks and since no regulation prevented advancement to clerical status. Conditions within the conventual bodies of Cluniac monasteries illustrate this stage of the evolution of the laybrotherhood.

Steps taken during the early eleventh century in Italy, at the monasteries of Fonte Avellana, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa, and during the late eleventh century in southern Germany, at Hirschau and the abbeys of its growing congregation, set the pattern for the

final development of the laybrotherhood. It is generally agreed that St. Romuald introduced the laybrotherhood at Camaldoli after 1012, that St. Peter Damian reorganized the monastery of Fonte Avellana, possibly after 1043, in accordance with the experiences of Romuald, and that St. John Gualbert, after 1038, also adopted the Camaldolese innovation. It is probable, furthermore, that John Gualbert, for the first time, called lay brothers *conversi* in the restricted sense of the word (as it was used later among Cistercians). The monastery of Hirschau, under Abbot William after 1069, was also responsible for clearly distinguishing between the two groups of religious and for popularizing the laybrotherhood in Germany.

During the late eleventh century and much more widely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the laybrotherhood became an ubiquitous part of the monastic world. But the adoption of the institution in 1100–1101 by the recently founded Order of Cîteaux resulted in the fullest development of the laybrotherhood and particularly in its further spread, since the influence of Cistercian customs was felt most widely. For at least two hundred years, the Cistercian lay brothers contributed substantially to the remarkable expansion and prosperity of their great Order. Indeed, they were also the indispensable means whereby the Order could free the monks, leading a contemplative life, from much of the work of manual labor and of caring for their material needs.

The original Cistercian economy would have been impossible without the lay brothers. Unlike the Benedictines, the Cistercians built abbeys far removed from populated centers and refused to accept churches (or revenues pertaining to them), tithes, *villae*, villeins, rents from land, or any similar income. The possessions of the Order were cared for by the lay brothers and hired servants; only with the help of these, especially of the lay brothers, did the founding fathers of Cîteaux consider possible the strict observance of the Rule by monks.

The *conversi* followed a special discipline prescribed by the *Usus conversorum* (written about 1119), which was the basic guide, the *Regula conversorum* (written after 1174), which was explicatory of the *Usus* among the abbeys in the line of Clairvaux, and the statutes of the general chapter, which revised the *Usus* from time to time. The brothers were admitted to profession after a year's novitiate and were thenceforth prohibited from becoming monks or priests. Under the jurisdiction of a master (*magister conversorum*, or *grangiarius*), they practiced their crafts or skills—as shoemakers, tanners, masons, cooks, farmers, herdsmen—within the precincts of the abbeys or on the nearby and distant farms, or granges. They did the buying and selling for the Order and were even employed as messengers and companions of abbots, members of the hierarchy, important nobles, and kings. They were recruited from the peasant class, and generally remained unlettered and simple men.

An examination of the statutes and of other pertinent sources of information makes it clear that the problems of discipline always loomed large in the government of the *conversi*. First of all, the brothers tried to exercise more influence in the affairs of the Order, and particularly in elections, than the customs of the Order allowed them. In 1181, possibly because of such influence, they were prohibited from being present at the election of abbots; later, in 1243, they interfered forcibly in one election, while, at another abbey in the same year, they even forced an abbot to resign, foisting their own candidate upon the monks and official visitors.

During the last few decades of the twelfth century, the Order also experienced much trouble in regulating the drinking of wine and beer by lay brothers on granges. After 1184, the general chapter attempted to prohibit the use of wine and beer, though it had to make exception for those regions where the practice had become traditional. In Wales and England, especially, the enforcement of the prohibition caused serious trouble. Although complete information is lacking in respect of certain revolts, it appears certain that the prohibition itself was sufficient to cause open rebellion, and it is probable that drinking on granges was generally conducive to a damaging disregard for discipline and authority. Nonetheless, in 1238, the general chapter finally permitted the drinking of alcoholic beverages on agricultural estates where it had been allowed usually by the customs of the abbey.

During the years 1168–1308, there were, at the very least, 123 revolts in the Cistercian Order, for most of which lay brothers and monks were responsible. Whereas monks were responsible for twenty of them, and monks and *conversi* for twenty-seven, the lay brothers alone caused forty-nine. Obviously, the recalcitrance of the *conversi* was extraordinarily disturbing. The catalogue of violence in these outbursts was as varied as one might expect in serious emotional aberrations—ranging from the relatively mild offenses of chasing the abbot some fifteen miles (admittedly with a more pointed objective in mind) and of concocting plots that were still-born, to mutilation, and, in at least six and possibly eight cases, homicide, with the abbot and the cellarer taking prominence among the victims.

Unfortunately, while the statutes tell us about the incidents themselves, they are mute, for the most part, concerning the causes. In a few cases, the refusal of the official in charge to extend the same privilege—in the matter of clothing, drink, or food—to the *conversi* as to the monks is the stated cause. It is probable, too, that the severity of an unbending, nonindulgent official caused many misunderstandings which resulted finally in an explosion of tempers and a use of weapons. Abbots and the monks themselves must have contributed at times to a divisive feeling within the community by overtaking the *conversi* in work and by gaining only for themselves concessions in pittance and other relaxations of the pristine observances. In addition, it per-

haps needs be pointed out that the eradication of pride stemming from feelings of class and intellectual or spiritual superiority has always been one of the most difficult tasks of character and moral formation, and that it was much more the problem those many centuries ago. So that, if the lay brothers were, as I suspect, often called *non conversi sed perversi*, the monks themselves were frequently perverse about pride. There also developed among the lay brothers during the thirteenth century, and particularly in the years after 1302, a strong resentment against the monks because lay brothers were either reduced in number or eliminated for a time in many abbeys and gradually displaced by servants and tenants.

Suitable regulations for the lay brothers were needed from the very beginning of the Order, since there was no uniformity in the treatment of *conversi*. As the prologue of the *Usus conversorum* reminds us, some abbots neglected to discipline the lay brothers, while others—shrewdly and unwisely—merely indulged them so that they would do more work.¹ Such a “speed-up” method as the latter, though perhaps humanely conceived, was ruinous for monastic discipline. Still, since the *conversi*, as de Moreau pointed out, seldom abandoned “their bad habits, passions and cruelty at the abbey door,”² one can understand the abbot’s inclination to humor his charges through their work.

The regulations that were drawn up for the *conversi* were eminently practical and reasonable, and the general chapter was, at various times, both willing and compelled to make such adjustments as experience and necessity dictated. Yet, some time within the life span of St. Bernard or at the latest within a generation after his death, St. Hildegard of Bingen wrote a strenuous excoriation of Cistercian lay brothers in which she condemned the insufferable attitude of these workers who, she said, would not work and recommended a revamping of the institution if not its elimination. In the early thirteenth century, testimony that was only a little less embarrassing was offered by the Cistercian writer, Caesarius of Heisterbach, who owed at least a literary debt to the *conversi* since he drew upon the lives of many of them for his accounts of miracles. Caesarius seemed to have been convinced that the conduct and motives of lay brothers had a weak foundation. He expressed the regret that the heat of poverty was an effective catalytic in making Cistercians out of cadets, prodigals, and pure financial failures. The novice, who serves as the literary foil in his *Dialogues*, is made to state that examples are unnecessary “since we see many on that account, especially *conversi*, coming to the

¹ Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 278: “*miror quosdam abbates nostros monachis quidem discipline debitam impendere diligentiam. conversis vero aut nullam aut minimam. . . . Alii . . . eorum murmurationi cedentes. ultra quam expediat animabus indulgent corporibus. quo taliter opera magis eliciant. . . .*”

² de Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

Order.”³ When many looked upon the Order only as a suitable alternative for mere shiftlessness, trouble was bound to develop.

During the thirteenth century, while the general chapter had to grapple with the problems of revolts, which, as it said in 1267, were enormously damaging to the reputation of the Order, and while it had to concern itself with the consequences of a new economic policy, it had also to make adjustments regarding servants and regarding standards for lay-brother candidates. Naturally, the wealth of information extant concerning lay brothers is lacking in respect of servants, but there is a sufficiency to indicate a trend.

The limited use of servants in exterior affairs was contemplated from the very beginning of the Order. But in the last decade of the twelfth century it is evident that a number of servants were introduced into some abbeys contrary to the customs of the Order. A statute of 1190 reveals that cooks were received by the *conversi* of Bona-Vallis the previous year, and that the general chapter forbade the repetition of such a step.⁴ In 1192, some Spanish abbots as well as others were punished for hiring servants for the kitchens and infirmaries of monks and *conversi*,⁵ and the general prohibition against the presence of servants in the kitchens and infirmaries was repeated in 1195.⁶ In 1209, the abbot of Aubignac, in the diocese of Bourges, was to be examined on a similar charge.⁷ But in 1237 the general chapter, evidently because of the scarcity of lay brothers in many abbeys, was compelled to permit the employment of lay servants in the kitchens of those abbeys having no more than eight lay brothers.⁸

This last concession by the general chapter may be taken as an indication that it was more difficult to secure lay brothers than formerly. The fact that *conversi* had servants waiting on them also points to a further step in the stratification of monastic society. Furthermore,

³ *Dial. mirac.*, dist. I, c. 28 (1: 34): “*Novicius*: non est necesse de talibus exempla quaerere, cum videamus tali occasione plures, maxime conversos, ad ordinem venire . . .” Cf. Hoffmann, *Konverseninstitut*, p. 100; d’Arbois de Jubainville and Pigeotte, *Etudes*, p. 255.

⁴ *C*, 1: 128 (1190), 51: “De conversis Bonae-Vallis qui in manu domini abbatis de Firmitate promiserunt, quod de cetero coquos non recipiant absque licentia Capituli generalis, vel domini Cistercii, dicimus quod si a proposito resilierint, sententiam in praeterito anno datam observent, quam dominus Bonae-Vallis eis denunciaret, et firmiter observari faciat.” There were four monasteries under the name of Bona-Vallis.

⁵ *C*, 1: 148 (1192), 13: “. . . quod in abbatiis eorum ministri saeculares serviunt in coquina et infirmitorio monachorum et conversorum . . .”

⁶ *C*, 1: 183 (1195), 6: “*Garciones* non serviant in coquinis conventus, nec in infirmitoriis . . .”

⁷ *C*, 1: 364–365 (1209), 37: “De abbate de Albeniaco qui dicitur habere *garciones* in refectorio et in coquina et in multis aliis accusatur . . .”

⁸ *C*, 2: 169 (1237), 3: “Omnibus abbatibus qui non habent plusquam octo conversos indulgetur a Capitulo generali ut in coquinis suis tam in abbatiis quam alibi faciant, si voluerint, saeculares deservire, servata in omnibus in quantum poterunt honestate.”

since the general chapter gradually softened the punishments meted out to lay brothers, it is clear that the Order was trying to hold those it already had. In 1242, lay brothers who were guilty of turpitude (*carnis contagium manifestum*), instead of being transferred to other abbeys, were to be exiled to granges and deprived of their religious habits.⁹ In this way, an individual abbey would not suffer a loss in services rendered. Incidentally, the treatment of returning "apostates" was so acute at times that there was a shortage of clothing because the departing brethren had gone off more than well provided with garments.¹⁰ Furthermore, whereas in 1267 and 1271 *conversi* were allowed only a servant's garb upon their return from a third "apostasy," in 1272 they were required to wear the garb only so long as they had been fugitives abroad, and in 1284 it was decreed that lay-brother prodigals, upon their return, were to be punished simply as the abbot saw fit.¹¹ Already, in 1274, the general chapter made the important declaration that since the Order suffered from a dearth of lay brothers at that time, and, since it was more becoming that *conversi* be occupied with more fitting tasks, laymen of good conduct and repute might be employed in the kitchens.¹² It is noteworthy that, on the contrary, the Dominicans were particularly concerned about a superabundance of lay brothers during the same period.¹³

Not only were the Cistercians not attracting many lay brothers, but they were also increasingly worried about the suitability of those who did present themselves. In 1220, the general chapter ordained that, unless circumstances made it unnecessary, an applicant should first prove his usefulness by undergoing a trial period of six months in secular habit before being admitted to the year's probation as a lay brother.¹⁴ In 1224, it provided that a lay brother was to be accepted if he could replace one hired servant for the work committed to him.¹⁵ While this statute was repealed in the following year, because of its inexpediency or perhaps of its rigidity,¹⁶ the general principle of utility was probably still maintained. Thus, in 1233, the prior of Pontigny was punished for having received seventeen unsuitable persons on the

⁹ C, 2: 247-248 (1242), 12. See also, C, 2: 425 (1257), 2; 440 (1258), 13.

¹⁰ C, 3: 37 (1266), 4.

¹¹ C, 3: 47 (1267), 1; 92 (1271), 3; 103 (1272), 1; 231 (1284), 6.

¹² C, 3: 128-129 (1274), 12: "Item, cum praesenti tempore Ordo multam patiatur penuriam conversorum, et ipsos conversos maioribus et honestioribus negotiis deceat occupari, permittitur auctoritate Capituli generalis ut qui voluerint in coquinis per servientes laicos non suspectos, sed bonae famae et conversationis honestae, sibi faciat deservire."

¹³ Mulhern, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁴ C, 1: 516 (1220), 1.

¹⁵ C, 2: 30 (1224), 1: "Tales de cetero recipiantur in conversos, qui in labore taliter occupentur, quod evidens sit et certum ipsos in officio sibi commissio laborem unius mercenarii compensare . . ."

¹⁶ C, 2: 35 (1225), 3: "Sententiae de recipiendis conversis . . . anno praeterito editae, quia opportune servari non poterant, revocantur."

same day, and for other abuses.¹⁷ Three decades later, in 1261, the general chapter recalled the standard set up in 1224 and ordered that any lay brother who refused to perform his assigned task be put back into "familiar's" garb until the visitor disposed of his case.¹⁸ The familiar (*familiaris*), or family brother, who exists today in some monasteries of the Order of Cistercians, with a rule of life arranged by the local superior, depended upon the monastery for his food, clothing, and shelter. While perhaps originally a hired worker or servant, he soon became a voluntary helper who took vows and wore a distinct habit. Exactly when he was introduced into the Order—though it was probably very early—is impossible to determine, since there are few references to *familiares* in the *Statuta* or other sources. In 1233, the general chapter established more uniform conditions by requiring vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience of future applicants, and also ordered that those who were *familiares* already should accept the vows if it were possible.¹⁹

Such regulations as these indicate that lay brothers were less frequently worth their keep. This condition coincided not only with an actual shortage of candidates, but also with a policy of restricting the number of lay brothers in abbeys where they had been involved in revolts, with the growing conviction that they were too proud, arrogant, and rebellious, and lastly with the development over a long period of time of the need for and the practice of renting land to seculars.

Undoubtedly, the change in the economic principles of Order was, in the long run, mostly responsible for the reduction of the number of lay brothers and for the radical change in the services they rendered. Until the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the capitular fathers insisted that abbeys cultivate the land of the Order solely through their

¹⁷ C, 2: 125–126 (1233), 68.

¹⁸ C, 2: 476–477 (1261), 7: "Cum olim in diffinitionibus Ordinis sit statutum quod tales in conversos recipiantur, qui possint laborem unius mercenarii compensare, ordinat Capitulum generale quod quicumque conversus laborem sibi iniunctum adimplere noluerit, redigatur ad familiaris habitum usque ad nutum visitatoris, et pane vescatur interim grossiori."

¹⁹ C, 2: 114 (1233), 14: "Ad communionem honorum temporalium nulli familiares recipiantur a modo, nisi ad abrenuntiationem proprietatis, ad votum continentiae, et ad obedientiam se voluerint obligare, habitum et tonsuram familiaribus deputatam quamdiu vixerint portaturi. Si qui sunt in Ordine qui nondum ad haec sunt obligati, ad hoc faciendum, si fieri potuerit, inducantur." See also, C, 1: 19 (1134, I), 27, 28; 404 (1213), 1; 2: 1 (1221), 3; 67–68 (1228), 14; 229 (1240), 70. The acceptance of familiar brothers, however, must have proved unsatisfactory—probably damaging to discipline—for the general chapter prohibited their reception without the permission of the father-abbot in 1292 (C, 3: 259–260 [1292], 5), and in 1293 it required instead the special permission of the capitular fathers (C, 3: 261–262 [1293], 3). See also, Winter, *Die Cistercienser*, Vol. 1, pp. 101–103; and [Alberic Wulf], *Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order* (St. Louis, 1944), pp. 107–108.

own personnel, though in some regions, such as trans-Elbian Germany and the Slavic lands of central Europe, as well as for the former members of the Order of Savigny, numerous exceptions were made with and without—generally without—approval. In 1208, a radical change was introduced when the general chapter permitted monasteries to rent lands which were less useful or too distant for advantageous cultivation, but this provision was repealed in 1214. It was not until 1220 that the right to rent was conceded again, and then only if the land in question was considered less useful; in 1224, rental was permitted on the more liberal condition that the lease be expedient.

These decisions of 1220 and 1224 to allow renting to seculars were delayed after the reversal of 1214 because of the widespread opposition to Cistercian expansion and to their freedom from the obligation to pay tithes. The papal exemption from tithe-payment, granted in 1132, had gradually aroused the resentment of bishops and other tithe-owners when lands from which tithes had been collected fell in startling amounts into the hands of the exempt Cistercians. Pope Adrian IV, in fact, felt it necessary to revoke the general exemption and to restrict it to only noval lands—those which the Cistercians themselves put under cultivation for the first time, and for which, therefore, tithes had not been collected previously. Pope Alexander III, however, reversed Adrian's decision in 1160, thus feeding again the resentment against the Cistercians. Then, because of the incessant complaints of ecclesiastics concerning the loss of tithes, particularly in England and France, the same Pontiff ordered the general chapter, in 1178 or 1179, to discontinue its acquisition of monasteries as well as the expansion of its landed possessions. Accordingly, in 1180, the general chapter ordered that, if purchases were made in the future, churches or monasteries or ecclesiastical persons having valid claims to tithes would have to be paid, and in the period 1182–1206 various prohibitions against the further purchase of land were enacted in an effort to becalm the troubled waters and, at the same time, to prevent dangerous indebtedness.

The issue was revived again, however, in 1213, when the Cistercians of Czikador, in the dioceses of Fünfkirchen, Hungary, bought lands, which were previously subject to tithe-payment, for wholesale wine production rather than their own use and refused to pay tithes. Pope Innocent III then warned the Order sharply, and finally demanded that the Cistercians conform (which they did) to new regulations promulgated in Canon 55 of the Fourth Lateran Council. In effect, the Order was not to purchase possessions from which tithes were due to churches, though the prohibition did not apply to acquisitions for new foundations or to pious donations; and in the case of these two exceptions the lands were to be rented out to other cultivators who would pay the tithe. The Pope therefore decreed that for whatever possessions of others the Cistercians acquired, even if they

themselves should cultivate the lands, they were either to pay the tithe or to reach a satisfactory agreement if tithes had been paid previously.

In 1220 and 1224, consequently, the Order was in a position to authorize renting, since, by then, it knew better the effects of Innocent III's solution and had sufficient time, after analysis and discussion, to reach a conclusion. It only remained to secure further clarification because of conflicting interpretations, which were to be expected. As a result, many abbeys of the Cistercian Order adopted the method of leasing land that was bringing about a radical change in manorial organization. In some cases, granges were assigned to lay brothers, who served almost the same function as a leaseholder or bailiff, since they returned a regular rent.

The system of leasing was much more widely adopted after Pope Boniface VIII, in 1302, exempted from tithe those Cistercian lands under domestic cultivation or leased to peasants for which tithes had not been collected previously. He thereby extended to the entire Order a privilege that had been enjoyed theretofore only by Clairvaux (since 1257) and seven other abbeys (since 1261). As a result, the Order could lease a great amount of its land, namely, the noval land—that which had been put under cultivation for the first time by the Cistercians themselves. The capitular fathers, in fact, expressed the hope that no slight gains would henceforth accrue to the Order, and the statutes soon indicated a marked increase in the number of rentals. The new constitution for the reform of the Order, provided by the Cistercian Pope, Benedict XII in 1335, established a careful system of control to deal with the accelerated reorganization of Cistercian economy that then ensued.

Indeed, the bull of Boniface must have spurred many monastic communities to action whereas previously they had hesitated to rent their lands extensively. It is even possible that Cistercian monasteries in many regions acted by common agreement and at about the same time in making such a readjustment. One chronicler, the Friar Minor of Ghent, stated:

In . . . [November, 1308] discord arose in Flanders and certain other lands between the monks of the Cistercian Order and their *conversi* because their abbots in a certain meeting before that time had ordained that their lands or fields, which the *conversi* were accustomed to cultivate, should be given over to seculars for cultivation at an annual pension or rent, intending to receive *conversi* no longer and thus to eliminate them in their Order.²⁰

In this passage, the Friar Minor may have been referring to the discussions of the general chapter, which took place in 1303 after Pope Boniface's bull was issued, but he was more probably referring to some regional agreement. Of much greater significance is the way in

²⁰ See above, p. 59.

which the statement of the Friar Minor links the decision to rent lands with the enmity between monks and *conversi*. The revolt led at this time by *frater conversus* Guillaume de Saeftingen typifies the tragic split in many conventual bodies and serves to mark the end of the great flowering of the Cistercian laybrotherhood, which is associated with the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.

The Cistercians, then, succeeded for a time in adhering rigorously to their monastic seclusion by employing lay brothers, while others used peasants and serfs within the manorial framework. But extremely rapid expansion brought unavoidable involvement in manorialism and feudalism. Forbidden possessions were almost thrust upon them, and abbots demanded permission to rent land as the only way of survival. There were shortages of lay brothers, which were caused by disciplinary restriction of members or expulsion and also by lack of aspirants. New orders, particularly those of the friars, became the favored of a new age, and better opportunities in towns and villages left to the Cistercians many candidates for the laybrotherhood who were only unskilled, uncouth, unlettered, and, especially, undisciplined. Secular leaseholders, however, could and did work the granges to the profit of themselves and of Cistercian abbeys. Thus, lack of *conversi* and especially lack of discipline as well as changes in Cistercian economic policies brought about the decline of the Cistercian laybrotherhood, though not its entire elimination.²¹ In view of the exceedingly troublesome revolts and in view of the compensations offered by the lease system, the change left no keen regrets.

²¹ See also the generalizations of Berlière (*L'Ordre monastique*, pp. 302-303) and Canivez (*L'Ordre de Cîteaux*, pp. 17-18). It is interesting to notice that, even when there was much complaint about the scarcity of lay brothers during the thirteenth century, some abbeys still had large numbers. Villers had 100 monks and 300 *conversi* about the year 1250, at which time the decline of the abbey began (de Moreau, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173). At Les-Dunes in the period 1232-1253, there were 120 monks and 248 *conversi*; during the period 1280-1293, 181 monks and 350 *conversi* (Heins and Fris, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, n. 6). The numbers were probably the same at Ter Doest (*ibid.*). Because of "the great number of lay brothers and secular persons" living on islands off the coast, the general chapter, in 1236, even permitted Les-Dunes and Ter Doest to assign three monks as chaplains on the islands (C, 2: 153 [1236], 3). During the early fourteenth century, even, at Froidmont near Beauvais, there were 50 monks and 100 lay brothers (E. Martène and U. Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint Maur* [2 vols., Paris, 1717], Vol. 2, p. 158).

APPENDIX

LIST OF 123 REVOLTS IN THE PERIOD 1168-1308

THE FOLLOWING is a list of the revolts, stirred up chiefly by *conversi* and monks in the Cistercian Order, which are mentioned in the *Statuta* and a few other sources for the period 1168-1308. Revolts which are mentioned in the *Statuta* after 1308 have not been listed, because they are comparatively few, because the lay brothers were sharply reduced in numbers thereafter, and also because the scarcity of available records and the paramountcy of other problems in the Order make it impossible to present the comparison of revolts by monks and lay brothers in proper perspective.

As Canivez pointed out, the various Ms. collections of statutes are complete and detailed for the years up to 1282, but they contain very brief notices for the following one hundred years (C, t. 3, p. vii). In fact, with the exception of the reform Constitution of Benedict XII (1335), the statutes are few in number until 1389. By that time, of course, the Order had come upon exceedingly hard times. Anyone who reads the statutes must be impressed by the overwhelming evidence of innumerable temporal devastations visited upon the abbeys and of as many flagrant violations of monastic vows committed by the members of the communities. An almost unending series of commissions to investigate pleas for dispersion, or the closing of any abbey, issued from Cîteaux. The Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the Great Western Schism accounted for much of the temporal and spiritual ruin. Many statutes make reference to incompetent abbots, wandering monks, and immature novices of unsatisfactory character. All the forces of evil, within and without the Order, struck, as if synchronized, with a terribly disintegrating impact. "*Proh dolor!*" ran the dishearteningly incessant and monotonous lamentation of the abbots gathered in a general chapter which was less frequently attended and increasingly ignored.

Under such circumstances, the general chapter, possessing little real authority, could not hold rein on the many details of discipline that formerly received careful consideration, nor could it call to book those guilty of infractions of various kinds. The visitor, or father-abbot, and special delegates of the general chapter were given more extensive authority during the fourteenth century; and, especially during the fifteenth century, the privilege of absolving in cases usually

reserved to the capitular fathers was granted to many fathers-abbot and abbots for as much as five, ten, or fifteen years. This procedure was necessitated by the absence of so many abbots, for valid or superficial reasons, from the capitular sessions. The instances are too numerous for citation; in some cases, the privilege was granted to an abbot in respect of monks and *conversi*, in others in respect of monks only. See, in general, *C*, 3: 746 (1400), 44–46, and Vol. 4, *passim*. There are at least ninety pertinent statutes for the period 1400–1456. In 1449, the privilege of absolving in reserved cases was extended to the entire Order.

The names and locations of the abbeys listed below have been checked against Canivez's identifications in the footnotes to the pertinent statutes and in the index volume (Vol. 8) of the *Statuta*. In some cases, I have also consulted Janaushek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, and Jacques Laurent, *Les Noms des monastères cisterciens dans la toponymie européenne* (Dijon, 1928). In the parentheses after the name of each abbey, the name of the diocese in which it was located has been given, and in some cases, also, other pertinent information concerning location; no attempt has been made to keep track of diocesan changes.

1. Schoenau (d. of Worms): the account of the lay-brother revolt over *botae*, about 1168, is given in the *Exordium magnum*, *PL*, 185 II: 1140–1144.
2. Fontenay (d. of Dijon): rebellion of monks and *conversi*; a building destroyed. *C*, 1: 124 (1190), 26.
3. Fontfroide (archd. of Narbonne, Languedoc): lay brothers refused to comply with the rules concerning clothing. *C*, 1: 132 (1190), 75. (Of doubtful nature.)
4. Bona-Vallis (four monasteries under this name): same as no. 3. (Of doubtful nature.)
5. Lügumkloster (d. of Ripen, Schleswig, Denmark): abbot, monks, and lay brothers refused to obey the father-abbot. *C*, 1: 141–142 (1191), 41.
6. Quincy (d. of Sens): *conversi* raised a tumult. *C*, 1: 149 (1192), 19; 150–151 (1192), 26.
7. Furness (d. of York, Yorkshire): lay brothers and monks rebellious. *C*, 1: 169 (1193), 58.
8. Signy (d. of Rheims): mere mention of conspirators. *C*, 1: 173 (1194), 13.
9. Moutier-en-Argonne (d. of Châlons): dispersal of *conversi*. *C*, 1: 173 (1194), 16; 198–199 (1196), 6.
10. Longpont (d. of Soissons, Picardy): “*transgressio*” of lay brothers. *C*, 1: 178 (1194), 45; 198 (1195), 48; 198–199 (1196), 5.
11. S. Gotthardus (Szent-Gotthárd, d. of Győr or Raab, Hungary, not far from Fürstenfeld, Styria): lay brothers committed a fiendish

cruelty against a monk; dispersal ordered. *C*, 1: 194 (1195), 79; 199 (1196), 10.

12. Cwmhir (d. of St. David's, Wales): *conversi* deprived the abbot of horses. *C*, 1: 191 (1195), 66.

13. Strata Florida (d. of St. David's, Wales): mere mention of "*excessus conversorum*." *C*, 1: 199 (1196), 8.

14. Garendon (d. of Coventry): revolt by *conversi*, in which the abbot was seriously wounded. *C*, 1: 202 (1196), 24; 216 (1197), 32; *Annales monastici*, Vol. 1, p. 23 (*Annales de Margam*), Vol. 2, p. 250 (*Annales de Waverleia*).

15. Salmansweiler (d. of Constance, Baden): conspiracy by lay brothers. *C*, 1: 206 (1196), 49; 218 (1197), 40.

16. Walkenried (d. of Mainz, Brunswick): abbot censured for giving ecclesiastical burial to a lay-brother conspirator. *C*, 1: 207 (1196), 52. (Of doubtful nature.)

17. La Creste (d. of Langres): mere mention of two conspirators. *C*, 1: 227 (1198), 26.

18. Ferrara (d. of Teano di Puglia, near Naples): monks and *conversi* ejected their abbot. *C*, 1: 231-232 (1198), 47.

19. La Ferté (d. of Chalon, Burgundy): permission to receive *conversi* sought. *C*, 1: 270 (1201), 34.

20. Schoenau: cellarer and two lay-brothers charged with constantly disturbing the abbey. *C*, 1: 283 (1202), 46.

21. S. John de Tarouca (S. João, d. of Lamego, Portugal): mere mention of "*excessus*" of monks. *C*, 1: 299 (1204), 19.

22. Fiaães (d. of Braga, Portugal): monks deprived the abbot of the money and horses needed for the journey to general chapter. *C*, 1: 302 (1204), 31.

23. Châlis (d. of Beauvais): mere mention of "*excessus conversorum*." *C*, 1: 303 (1204), 34.

24. N. D. des Pierres (d. of Bourges): the lay brothers "*manu armata occurrerunt abbatibus venientibus ad Capitulum*." *C*, 1: 345 (1207), 61.

25. Eberbach (d. of Mainz): mention of the *conversi* opposing themselves to the Order, before 1208. *Dial. mirac.*, dist. V, c. 29 (Vol. 1, pp. 314-315).

26. Cliente (d. of Camerino): a conspiracy menacing enough to warrant the intervention of the secular arm; unknown elements. *C*, 1: 388 (1211), 45.

27. S.-M. de Monte de Ramo (d. of Orense, Galicia, Spain): abbot, monks, and lay brothers acted "*male*" toward the visitor. *C*, 1: 423 (1214), 30.

28. Fontfroide: *conversi* exposed a lay brother to death. *C*, 1: 401 (1212), 52; 406 (1213), 9.

29. Pilis (d. of Veszprem, Hungary): *conversi* buried a lay brother alive. *C*, 1: 413 (1213), 46.

30. Morimondo (d. of Milan): mere mention of conspiracy against abbot. *C*, 1: 441 (1215), 33.

31. Mellifont (d. of Armagh): lay brothers slammed the doors shut, preventing the exit of the official visitor; abbot primarily responsible. *C*, 1: 456 (1216), 32; 483 (1217), 78.

32. Alfwästra (d. of Linköping, Sweden): monks and *conversi* deprived the abbot of the seal and ejected him. *C*, 1: 461 (1216), 56; 477 (1217), 4.

33. Jerpoint (d. of Ossory, Ireland): five abbots involved in disturbing a visitation here. *C*, 1: 470–471 (1217), 25; 483 (1217), 79.

34. Aiguebelle (d. of Valence): lay brothers invaded the pastures of the abbey of Mazan. *C*, 1: 472–473 (1217), 32. (Of doubtful nature.)

35. S. John de Tarouca: abbot and monks threatened visitor. *C*, 1: 477 (1217), 48.

36. Monfero (d. of Compostela, Galicia, Spain): monks and lay brothers deprived their abbot of horses needed for the journey to general chapter. *C*, 1: 493 (1218), 42; 506 (1219), 16.

37. Clairefontaine (d. of Besançon, Burgundy): monks and lay brothers violated the boundaries established between Clairefontaine and Cherlieu. *C*, 1: 525 (1220), 44. (Of doubtful nature.)

38. Ter Doest (Thosan, d. of Bruges): *conversi* involved in a conspiracy; comment made concerning presumptuousness of lay brothers in that region. *C*, 2: 28 (1223), 25.

39. S. Galgano (d. of Volterra, Tuscany): conspiracy of “*fratres*”; three monks implicated. *C*, 2: 38 (1225), 17.

40. An unknown abbey: lay brothers planned to tear down a new building constructed for the monks; violence was prevented by the sudden death of the chief conspirator; before or about 1220–1235. *Dial. mirac.*, dist. XI, c. 57 (Vol. 2, p. 310).

41. Meaux (d. of York, Yorkshire): *conversi* were assigned to menial tasks because of arrogance, ca. 1230. *Chronica de Melsa*, Vol. 1, pp. 432–433; Vol. 3, pp. xlii–xliii.

42. Baudeloo (d. of Tournai and afterwards Ghent): one lay brother killed the abbot; the *conversi* were expelled and only five permitted in the future; the limitation was relaxed in 1230 and 1236. *C*, 2: 52–53 (1226), 23; 91 (1230), 36; 159 (1236), 32; *Annales monastici*, Vol. 2, p. 301 (*Annales de Waveleia*).

43. Mellifont: five Irish abbots deposed for being among chief conspirators “*in conspiratione Mellifontis*”; there is a possible connection between this incident and the sending thither of monks and lay brothers from Margam, “*ad reformationem ordinis, quia ibi valde emarcuit disciplina.*” *C*, 2: 61 (1227), 29; *Annales monastici*, Vol. 1, p. 36 (*Annales de Margam*, s. a. 1228).

44. Fontaines-les-Blanches (d. of Tours): prior and monks pursued the abbot and father-abbot into a church. *C*, 2: 70 (1228), 24; 89 (1230), 27.

45. Châlis: lay brothers laid violent hands on their abbot. *C*, 2: 86 (1230), 12.
46. Pontigny (d. of Sens): lay brothers who had been dispersed were never to return; no *conversus* could be received until the next general chapter. *C*, 2: 86 (1230), 13.
47. Hilda (d. of Lund, Pomerania): monks laid violent hands on their abbot. *C*, 2: 111 (1232), 54.
48. Pilis: abbot, monks, and lay brothers guilty of "*excessus . . . intolerabiles et enormes*." *C*, 2: 125 (1233), 67.
49. Fontenay: two *conversi* are responsible for violence against certain abbots and their servants by armed servants at a grange. *C*, 2: 125 (1233), 67.
50. Bonnetcombe (Bonne-Combe, d. of Rodez, archd. of Albi): monks and lay brothers were punished for adhering to another abbot; further investigation ordered. *C*, 2: 134 (1234), 34; 137-138 (1234), 50.
51. L'Isle-en-Barrois (d. of Nancy): monks and *conversi* dispersed. *C*, 2: 176 (1237), 42. (Of doubtful nature.)
52. Grandselve (d. of Toulouse, Gascony): lay brothers violently attacked their abbot. *C*, 2: 181-182 (1237), 66.
53. Tiglieto (d. of Acqui, Liguria): abbot would not receive an archbishop; *conversi* would not receive an abbot. *C*, 2: 193 (1238), 43. (Of doubtful nature.)
54. Pontigny: general chapter ordered correction of excesses of lay brothers, monks, and prior. *C*, 2: 195 (1238), 51.
55. Preuilly (d. of Meaux): same as no. 54.
56. Eberbach: a lay brother seriously wounded the abbot; other *conversi* were involved. *C*, 2: 195 (1238), 52; 233 (1241), 19.
57. Grandselve: correction of excesses of *conversi* ordered. *C*, 2: 195 (1238), 52.
58. Sobrado (d. of Compostela, Galicia, Spain): mention of conspiracy by cellarer and two accomplices. *C*, 2: 243 (1241), 68.
59. Cliente: an investigation ordered for monks "*qui contra abbatem proprium dicuntur enormiter deliquisse*." *C*, 2: 243-244 (1241), 69.
60. Val-Benoite (d. of Lyon): monks beat their abbot and prior. *C*, 2: 255 (1242), 55.
61. Sobrado: *conversi* attempted to influence the election of the abbot by forcing their way into chapter. *C*, 2: 265 (1243), 41.
62. Hovedø Kloster (d. of Oslo, on an island near Oslo): very violent revolt by monks and lay brothers; they sent the prior and two others to an island, there left to die, and despoiled the abbot and official visitors, among other things. *C*, 2: 267 (1243), 70.
63. Nepomuk (d. of Prague): abbot was elected by duress after the intrusion of three monks with a multitude of *conversi*, who threatened death. *C*, 2: 273-274 (1243), 70.
64. Heilsbronn (d. of Eichstaett, Bavaria): a lay brother killed

the abbot and a monk; other *conversi* were implicated in a general conspiracy; no lay brothers to be received in the future because of their insolence. *C*, 2: 307 (1246), 31.

65. Bouchaud (d. of Périgueux): *conversi* laid violent hands on the abbot and seized his seal; the monks simulated ignorance of what was happening. *C*, 2: 318 (1247), 20.

66. Blandecques (Blandeka, d. of St. Omer): unspecified disobedience by abbess and nuns; lay brothers and lay sisters also excommunicated along with them. *C*, 2: 326–327 (1247), 61.

67. Heiligenkreuz (d. of Meissen): same as no. 66.

68. Bénisson-Dieu (d. of Comminges, Gascony; not La Bénissons-Dieu, in Burgundy): atrocious excesses by unnamed members of the community against the abbot to be investigated. *C*, 2: 384 (1252), 40.

69. Bildhausen (d. of Wurzburg, Bavaria): mention of conspiracy of monks. *C*, 2: 384–385 (1252), 41.

70. Morimondo: a monk and lay-brother accomplices to be punished as conspirators. *C*, 2: 397 (1253), 35.

71. Verola (d. of Tirazona, Aragon): abbot, monks, and *conversi* guilty of excesses. *C*, 2: 415 (1255), 27; 436–437 (1258), 4; 455 (1259), 35.

72. Preallum (del Preallo, d. of Genoa): monks and lay brothers guilty of “apostasy.” *C*, 2: 416 (1255), 28. (Of doubtful nature.)

73. Acquafredda (Acqua-Fredda, d. of Como, Lombardy): monks expelled their abbot. *C*, 2: 434–435 (1257), 51.

74. Waverley (d. of Winchester, Surrey): prior and convent rebellious against father-abbot. *C*, 2: 450 (1259), 10.

75. Bonnecombe: *conversi* rebelled against their abbot and even threatened the official visitors who were sent to investigate. *C*, 2: 454–455 (1259), 34.

76. SS. Vincenzo ed Anastaggio alle Tre Fontane (near Rome): mere mention of excesses of *conversi*. *C*, 2: 466–467 (1260), 25; 480 (1261), 26.

77. S. Martino del Monte (near Viterbo in the Patrimony of St. Peter): same as no. 76.

78. Casanova (Caja-Nova, d. of Penne, Abruzzi): mention of excesses of lay brothers. *C*, 2: 466–467 (1260), 25.

79. S. Sebastiano (near Rome): mention of excesses of *conversi*. *C*, 2: 466–467 (1260), 25; 3: 15 (1263), 39.

80. Buch (Boch, d. of Meissen, Saxony): monks and lay brothers rebellious. *C*, 2: 467 (1260), 27.

81. Geffelsberg (Westphalia): reform of this nunnery required because the nuns were rebellious against the Order. *C*, 2: 467 (1260), 27.

82. Eberbach: a lay brother killed the abbot; grave complaints against the *conversi* had been reported previously. *C*, 2: 482 (1261), 32; 3: 76 (1269), 42; 85 (1270), 25; 135 (1274), 44.

83. Bolbone (Bolbona, Borbona, d. of Toulouse): monks and lay brothers laid violent hands on the abbot. *C*, 3: 5–6 (1262), 43.

84. Langonnet (Langonium, d. of Quimper, Brittany): monks refused to participate further at an election in chapter. *C*, 3: 15 (1263), 41. (Of doubtful nature.)

85. Casamario (d. of Veroli): general chapter granted permission for the abbey to receive *conversi* despite a former prohibition; but there is no reference elsewhere in the *Statuta* to the prohibition. *C*, 3: 19 (1264), 6.

86. Georgental (d. of Mainz): mere mention of conspiracy. *C*, 3: 33 (1265), 8.

87. Pforte (d. of Nuremberg, Thuringia): monks and lay brothers organized a conspiracy against the abbot. *C*, 3: 41 (1266), 27; 50 (1267), 14.

88. Unnamed nunnery subject to La Creste: mention of excesses of women who were received as lay sisters; none to be received thereafter without permission. *C*, 3: 41 (1266), 28.

89. Le Beuil (Bullio, d. of Limoges): a "*contentio*" had arisen between the abbot and the monks which very much disturbed the abbey. *C*, 3: 43 (1266), 38. (Of doubtful nature.)

90. S. Maria di Rabona (Ara-Bona, d. of Chieti): lay brothers "*abbatem suum male tractaverint.*" *C*, 3: 46 (1266), 53.

91. Ripalta (d. of Tortona, Piedmont): grave conspiracy to be investigated; lay brothers killed the cellarer; the monks and *conversi* had fled. *C*, 3: 54 (1267), 47; 58-59 (1268), 1.

92. Analona (not definitely identified): conspiracy to be investigated. *C*, 3: 54 (1267), 48. In the index volume to the *Statuta* (*C*, 8: 18, 26), Canivez suggests that Analona may be another name for Aqualonga (Acqualunga), a daughter house of Ripalta situated on the border of Piedmont. Janaushek's list, including the variant spellings of the abbey, does not help in this identification. Canivez's solution is probably correct. The monastery was certainly located in northern Italy since the case was committed for investigation to the abbots of San Salvatore del Montamiato in Tuscany and Ripalta in Piedmont.

93. Twis Kloster (d. of Ripen, Denmark): monks and lay brothers injured the abbot. *C*, 3: 64 (1268), 37.

94. Neath (d. of Llandaff, Wales): *conversi* stole the horses of the abbot and fled. *C*, 3: 72 (1269), 19.

95. S. Maria di Rabona (Narrabona): the abbey was permitted to receive novices, at the request of the father-abbot, because of the scarcity of monks. It is possible, though unlikely, that there is a connection between this need and disciplinary action taken in no. 90 above. *C*, 3: 90 (1270), 62. (Of doubtful nature.)

96. S. Martino del Monte: lay brothers, by use of violence, forced abbot to depart. *C*, 3: 96 (1271), 17.

97. Amelunxborn (d. of Hildesheim): *conversi* wanted to kill or mutilate the abbot and monks, who were forced to flee through the

back door of the infirmary and take refuge in town. *C*, 3: 104–105 (1272), 5; 192 (1279), 64.

98. Saint-Jean d'Aulps (d. of Geneva, Savoy): lay brothers mutilated a monk. *C*, 3: 105 (1272), 7.

99. Acquafredda: monks and *conversi* took the seal from the abbot by violence. *C*, 3: 118 (1273), 16; 173–174 (1277), 74.

100. Orval (d. of Namur): the question of the recall of conspirators is put at the discretion of the father-abbot. *C*, 3: 121 (1273), 33.

101. Zwettl (d. of Passau, Austria): certain lay brothers cut off the nose of a monk. *C*, 3: 145 (1275), 24.

102. SS. Vito e Salvo (Piscaria, d. of Chieti): complaints that *conversi* laid violent hands on the abbots going to general chapter and despoiled them. *C*, 3: 144 (1275), 22; 153 (1276), 8; 165 (1277), 10.

103. Bolbone: mere mention of conspiracy of certain monks. *C*, 3: 146 (1275), 29.

104. Clairmarais (d. of Térouanne, Artois): conspiracy of certain monks. *C*, 3: 146 (1275), 30; 173 (1277), 64.

105. S. Martino del Monte: in 1276 general chapter ratified sentence imposed against conspirators and ordered further investigation; in 1277 the abbot was punished along with other monks. It is possible, though unlikely, that there is a connection between this incident and no. 96. *C*, 3: 152–153 (1276), 7; 167 (1277), 20.

106. Casamario: general chapter ordered an investigation of the removal of the abbot and the subsequent illegal election, and of a conspiracy of monks and lay brothers. *C*, 3: 154–155 (1276), 14; 166 (1277), 17.

107. Obazine (d. of Limoges): an abbot had himself made abbot of Obazine with the consent of the father-abbot; excesses of monks and other persons are mentioned; those adhering to the abbot mentioned were to be excommunicated. *C*, 3: 166 (1277), 16.

108. Preuilly: general chapter ordered an investigation of shocking misdeeds in 1279; in 1280 it confirmed the expulsion of eight monks and three *conversi*; offense not mentioned. *C*, 3: 186 (1279), 19; 197–198 (1280), 16.

109. Val-Dieu (d. of Liège): correction of rebellious monks and lay brothers ordered; new abbot approved. *C*, 3: 198–199 (1280), 19; 208 (1281), 14.

110. Kirkstall (d. of York, Yorkshire): rebellion of monks and *conversi* to be investigated. *C*, 3: 200 (1280), 25.

111. Locedio (d. of Vercelli, Piedmont): monks and lay brothers revolted against official visitors. *C*, 3: 212 (1281), 33.

112. S. M. de Castaneola (d. of Sinigaglia, March of Ancona): petition of abbot to receive novices was granted. *C*, 3: 213 (1281), 45. (Of doubtful nature.)

113. Fontevivo (d. of Parma): petition of abbot to receive novices was granted. *C*, 3: 213 (1281), 47. (Of doubtful nature.)

114. Follina (Sana Vallis, d. of Ceneda, north of Venice): abbot was killed by unnamed members of the community. *C*, 3: 246 (1290), 5; 253 (1291), 23.

115. S. Stephano al Corno (d. of Lodi, Lombardy): same as no. 114.

116. Gimont (d. of Auch, Gascony): question of receiving novices was committed to the discretion of the abbot of Morimond. *C*, 3: 255 (1291), 33. (Of doubtful nature.)

117. Val-Dieu: rebellious and disobedient monks and *conversi* were to be investigated. *C*, 3: 260 (1292), 8; 280–281 (1295), 12.

118. Brondolo (d. of Chioggio, in the marshes of Venice below Chioggio): general chapter approved the deposition of the abbot, the election of the new abbot, and the punishment of the former prior, a monk, and a lay brother as rebels and conspirators. *C*, 3: 262–263 (1293), 9.

119. Sylvacane (d. of Aix): mere mention of conspirators. *C*, 3: 265 (1293), 25.

120. Nonenque (d. of Albi): entire community from abbess to lay sisters excommunicated for disobeying the father-abbot. *C*, 3: 277 (1294), 80.

121. S. Salvador (d. of Pamplona, Navarre): correction of monks was ordered. *C*, 3: 290 (1297), 14.

122. Les-Dunes (d. of Térouanne, near Bruges): monks and *conversi* calumniated abbot, ca. 1302–1304, or 1299–1304. *Codex Dunensis*, p. 321 (no. 147).

123. Ter Doest: Guillaume de Saeftingen, leading a lay-brother revolt, wounded the abbot and the cellarer, about November, 1308. For discussion and sources, see above, pp. 59–60.

The incident at Fontenay (no. 49) was not an isolated case, though the measures employed by the *conversi* were perhaps extreme. Traveling members of the Order experienced numerous difficulties in regard to procurations, or temporary hospitality. Most of the difficulties occurred before and after the meeting of the general chapter at Cîteaux in September, when abbots and their companions gathered from all over Europe. Many masters of granges, who were both monks and lay brothers, frequently managed either to insult their guests or to refuse hospitality completely. Of course, they must not be made to shoulder full responsibility for such practices, inasmuch as their abbots or cellarers undoubtedly encouraged them. Too many guests—with their horses—at a grange would reduce the annual income. The disagreements resulted in adulteration of the provender for the animals, verbal rebukes, and sometimes homicide, or simply refusal to put someone up for the night. See *C*, 1: 149 (1192), 20; 163 (1193), 35; 198 (1196), 2; 230 (1198), 44; 261 (1200), 64; 285–286 (1203), 8; 319 (1205), 60; 331 (1206), 59; 359–360 (1209), 16; 365 (1209), 40; 400 (1212), 46; 409 (1213), 23; 414 (1213), 50; 426–427 (1214), 46; 440–441 (1215), 29; 502 (1218),

82; 504 (1219), 7; 509 (1219), 32; 512-513 (1219), 48; 2: 40 (1225), 26; 71 (1228), 27; 183 (1237), 69; 375 (1251), 74; 441 (1258), 16; 3: 55 (1267), 54; 78 (1269), 71; 153-154 (1276), 11.

One complaint was made against the monks and lay brothers of Stürzelbronn (d. of Metz), who were charged with improperly caring for the needs of abbots coming to general chapter and for calling the lay brothers of these abbots parasites, or gluttons ("*leccatores*") (C, 1: 494 [1218], 48). One lay brother had a very shrewd approach to the whole problem, which the following statute reveals: "De converso hospitali de Secanae portu [or Barbellum, Barbeaux, d. of Meaux], qui dixit cuidam magistro parisiensi, quod non tam bene ministratur abbatibus redeuntibus a Capitulo sicut euntibus, et quod timeret abbates usque ad annum, committitur . . ." (C, 1: 526 [1220], 46). Cf. Mahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-185, for a discussion of this matter.

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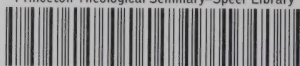
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